



DANIEL NEAL, M.A.

Engraved from an Original Remedy by W. Holt

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NEAL'S
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS ;
OR, THE
RISE, PRINCIPLES, AND SUFFERINGS
OF THE
PROTESTANT DISSENTERS,
TO THE
GLORIOUS ERA OF THE REVOLUTION;
ABRIDGED,
IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY EDWARD PARSONS.

WITH THE
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY JOSHUA Toulmin, D. D.



SECOND EDITION.

VOL. I

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DEDICATION.



THIS 'edition of Neal's History of the Puritans, is most respectfully dedicated to the friends of religious liberty, whose united efforts, on a ~~recent~~ trying occasion, opposed an insuperable barrier against the long meditated encroachments of intolerance ; and to whose harmonious combination and vigilance, the oppressed shall look with confidence in every future attempt upon the privileges of our toleration.

By your enlightned and unre-mitted exertions, under the conduct and blessing of divine providence, that alarming measure introduced to the House of Peers by Lord Viscount Sidmouth, was happily frus-

DEDICATION.

trated ; and became the occasion of a triumph, that will be enjoyed by your posterity for generations to come.

Upon the liberal and comprehensive principles,—that man is amenable to none but God for his religious opinions, and that no earthly power has any right to interfere with the high and sacred concerns of conscience,—upon these principles you rested your opposition to the novel and dangerous control designed to be vested in the civil magistrate, over the appointment of your ministers ;—and your unanimous co-operation, your wisdom, your temper, and your firmness, gave peculiar importance and interest to the victory you have obtained.

In presenting to the public a history of the rise, the principles, and the sufferings of the protestant dissenters, my attention is naturally directed to you ;—not so much with a view to the honour of your patron-

DEDICATION.

age, as the desire of recording an event so eminently connected with our present and future happiness ;—to congratulate you as the distinguished instruments of its accomplishment ;—and to animate the minds of my readers in the prospect of that infinitely important period, when every invidious distinction, and every hostile passion, shall be banished from religious society ; and when all the blessings of christian ~~liberty~~ shall be diffused, and enjoyed through the whole world.

EDWARD PARSONS.

Leeds, August 1, 1811.

MEMOIRS*

OF THE LIFE OF

MR. DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

MR. DANIEL NEAL was born in the city of London, on the 14th of December, 1678. When he was very young, his parents were removed by death, and left him, their only surviving child, in the hands of a maternal uncle: whose care of his health and education was faithful and affectionate, and was often mentioned by his nephew with gratitude.

He received his classical education at Merchant Tailors' school; to which he was sent when he was seven or eight years of age, and where he staid till he was head scholar. In his youthful period he gave a proof of the serious and conscientious principles by which he was governed. For an exhibition of St John's college in Oxford being offered to him, out of a foundation belonging to that school, he declined it; and chose an education for the ministry amongst the protestant dissenters.

About the year 1696, or 1697, he removed from this seminary to a dissenting academy, under the direction of the Reverend Thomas Rowe; under whose tuition several eminent characters were, in part, formed. To this gentleman Dr. Watts addressed his animated ode, called "Free Philosophy," which may, in this view, be considered as an honorable testimonial to the candid and liberal spirit with which Mr. Rowe conducted the studies of his pupils.

* The Editor embraces this opportunity of recording his most cordial acknowledgments to Dr. Toulmin, for permission to republish his excellent Memoir of Neal; and the polite and friendly manner in which that permission was communicated.

Mr. Neal's thirst after knowledge was not to be satisfied by the limited advantages of one seminary : but prompted him to seek further improvement in foreign universities. Having spent three years with Mr. Rowe, he removed to Holland ; where he prosecuted his studies, for two years, under the celebrated professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman, at Utrecht ; and then one year at Leyden.

About the middle or latter end of 1703, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Martin Tomkins and Mr. (afterwards the eminent Dr.) Lardner, and soon after appeared in the pulpit.

It was not long before his furniture and abilities attracted notice. And, in the next year, he was chosen assistant to Dr. John Singleton, in the service of an independent congregation, in Aldersgate-street ; and on the doctor's death, in 1706, he was elected their pastor. In this relation he continued for thirty-six years, till about five months before his decease. When he accepted the pastoral office, the church, though some persons of considerable fortune and character belonged to it, was very small, as to numbers ; but such acceptance did his ministry meet with, that the place of worship became, in a few years, too streight to accommodate the numbers that desired to attend on Mr. Neal's preaching ; which obliged them to remove to a larger house in Jewin-street.

He fulfilled the duties of his character with attention and diligence : stately preaching twice every Lord's day, till the three or four last years of his life ; and usually devoting two or three afternoons in a week, to visiting his people. He pursued his studies with so close an application, as to reserve little or no time for exercise ; though he was assiduous in his preparations for the pulpit, he gave himself some scope in his literary pursuits, and particularly indulged in the study of history, to

which his natural genius strongly led him. "He
 "still," observes Dr. Jennings, "kept his character
 "and profession in view, as a christian divine and
 "minister."

The first fruits of his literary labours appeared in
 1720, under the title of "The History of New-
 "England; being an impartial account of the civil
 "and ecclesiastical affairs of the country, with a
 "new accurate Map thereof: to which is added, an
 "Appendix, containing their present charter, their
 "ecclesiastical discipline, and their municipal laws."
 In two volumes 8vo. This work contains an enter-
 taining and instructive narrative of the first plant-
 ing of the gospel in a foreign heathen land: and;
 besides exhibiting the rise of a new commonwealth;
 struggling in its infant state with a thousand diffi-
 culties, and triumphing over them all, it includes
 biographical memoirs of the principal persons in
 church and state. It was well received in New-
 England; and the next year their university ho-
 noured the author with the degree of Master of
 Arts, the highest academical title they had power
 to confer.

In the same year there came from Mr. Neal's
 pen, "A letter to the Rev. Dr. Francis Hare;
 "dean of Worcester, occasioned by his reflections
 "on the dissenters, in his late visitation sermon and
 "postscript." 8vo.

In 1721, he published "The Christian's Duty and
 "Interest in a time of public danger; from Ezekiel
 "ix. 4. A sermon preached at the Rev. Mr. Jen-
 "ning's meeting-place in Wapping, on Friday,
 "October 27, being a time of solemn prayer on
 "account of the plague." This discourse is pre-
 served in the library of Queen's college, Cam-
 bridge.

Mr. Neal gave to the public, in 1722, "A Nar-
 "rative of the method and success of inoculating

“the small-pox in New-England, by Mr. Benjamin Coman; with a reply to the objections made against it from principles of conscience, in a letter from a minister at Boston. To which is now prefixed, an historical introduction.” On the appearance of this piece, her Royal Highness Caroline, princess of Wales, sent for him to wait on her, that she might receive from him further satisfaction concerning the practice of inoculation. He was introduced by a physician of the royal family, and received by the princess in her closet; whom he found reading “Fox’s Martyrology.”—Her highness did him the honour of entering into a free conversation with him for near an hour, on the subject of inoculation: and afterwards on other subjects, particularly the state of the dissenting interest in England, and of religion in New-England. After some time the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. came into the room, and condescended to take a part in the conversation for above a quarter of an hour. Mr. Neal had the honour of kissing the hands of both the royal personages.

In 1722, he published, at request, a sermon preached to the societies for reformation of manners, at Salter’s-hall, on Monday, June 25. This discourse, grounded on Psalm xciv. 16, is to be met with in the library mentioned before.

In the beginning of the next year the request of the managers of the charity-school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, procured from him the publication of a sermon, preached January 1, for the benefit of that institution, on Job xxix. 12, 13, entitled, “The Method of Education in the charity-schools of protestant dissenters; with the advantages that arise to the public from them.”

After this, nothing of Mr. Neal’s appeared from the press for several years, till in 1726, the death of

the Rev. Matthew Clarke, a minister of considerable eminence amongst the dissenters of that period, gave occasion for his publishing a funeral sermon for him, from Matthew xxv. 21. This discourse was, next year, reprinted, and annexed to a volume of sermons upon several occasions, by Mr. Clarke; of which Mr. Neal was the editor, and to which he prefixed some memoirs of the author.

At the beginning of this year he printed a sermon, entitled "Of sorrowing for them who sleep in Jesus," occasioned by the death of Mrs. Anne Phillibrown, who departed this life February 1, 1726-7, in the 43d year of her age. This discourse is also to be found in Queen's college library, Cambridge.

In 1730, the united request of the ministers and the church prevailed with him to publish a sermon, entitled, "The duty of praying for ministers and the success of their ministry," from 2 Thess. iii. 1; preached at the separation of the Rev. Mr. Richard Rawlin, to the pastoral office in the church at Fetter-lane, June 24. A passage in this discourse deserves to be quoted, to show the catholic and generous sentiments of Mr. Neal. Having referred to the persecutions of the christians under the Roman emperors, and then to the prevalence of darkness and superstition for a thousand years, after Rome became papal; he proceeds, "The light of the gospel broke out again at the Reformation; but, alas! what obstructions has it met with ever since! How much blood has been spilt, and how many families ruined, and sent into banishment for the profession of it! There is at this time a bloody inquisition in Spain; and the sword of the magistrate is drawn against the preaching of the gospel in Italy, France, Poland, in several parts of Germany, and in other popish countries. I wish I could say, that all protestant

“ governments were willing the gospel should have
 “ its free course ; but our fathers in this nation have
 “ drunk of the bitter cup of persecution ; our
 “ teachers have been driven into corners, and the
 “ mouths of thousands stopped in one day : Blessed
 “ be God, that there is now a more open door !
 “ Let us pray, that ALL PENAL LAWS *for religion*
 “ *may be taken away, and that NO CIVIL DISCOUR-*
 “ *RAGEMENTS may lie upon Christians of ANY*
 “ *DENOMINATION,* for the peaceable profession of
 “ their faith, but that the gospel may have free
 “ course.”

In the year 1732, came out the first volume of Mr. Neal's great work, “ The History of the Puritans.” The following circumstances gave birth to this publication. Dr. Edmund Calamy, many years before, had, in his “ Abridgement of the life of Mr. Richard Baxter, and the continuation of it,” laid before the public a view of the state of non-conformity, and of the characters and sufferings of the principal adherents to it, during the period that immediately succeeded to the act of uniformity in 1662. Dr. John Evans, on this, formed a design of writing “ A History of Non-conformity,” from the beginning of the reformation to 1640, when the civil wars began. Mr. Neal was requested, by several ministers and other persons of considerable figure amongst the dissenters, to take up the history from the year 1640, and to carry it on to the act of uniformity. Dr. Evans proceeded a great way in the execution of his design : by collecting, for several years, with great industry and expense, proper materials from all quarters, and by filling several quires of paper with references, under each year, to the books he had read on the subject. He had gone so far as to have written out fairly about a third part of the two folios he intended to fill. But his constant em-

ployment as a minister, the multiplicity of public affairs which passed through his hands, ill health, and various disappointments and troubles in his own concerns, greatly interrupted his close application to the work: and his death, in the year 1730, put a final period to the design, which was left in an unfinished state. In the mean time, Mr. Neal had prosecuted his work with so much application and spirit, that he had completed his collections, and put them in order for the press, some length of time before the doctor's decease. This event obstructed his immediate progress, and opened to him a new field of study and investigation: for he now found it necessary to take up himself the long period of history from the reformation to the commencement of the civil wars: that his own collections might be published with more acceptance, and appear with greater advantage, than he apprehended they could have done, if the doctor's province had been entirely neglected.

The approbation which followed the publication of the first volume of "The History of the Puritans," encouraged him to prosecute his design; and the next year, 1733, produced a second volume of that work.

Between the appearance of this and the subsequent parts of his history, we find Mr. Neal engaged with some of his respectable brethren in carrying on two courses of lectures; one at Berry-street, the other at Salter's-hall.

The former was preached at the request and by the encouragement of William Coward, Esq. of Walthamstow. It consisted of fifty-four sermons on the principle heads of the christian religion, entitled "Faith and Practice." Mr. Neal's associates in this service were, Dr. Watts, Dr. J. Guise, Mr. Samuel Price, Mr. John Hubbard, and Dr. David Jennings. The terms on which

Mr. Neal complied with Mr. Coward's request, made through a common friend, to take part in this service, are proofs of the independence and integrity of mind which he possessed, and was determined to maintain. His requisitions were, that he would draw up the dedication, write the preface, and choose his own subjects: in which Mr. Coward, though they were not very pleasing to a gentleman of his known humour, and fondness for adulation and control, acquiesced; rather than the lecture should lose the advantage and reputation that it would derive from Mr. Neal's abilities and name. The subjects handled by him were, "The divine authority and perfection of the holy scriptures," from 2 Tim. iii. 16. "Of God, as the governor and judge of the moral world, angels, and men," on Daniel iv. 35. "The Incarnation of Christ as the promised Messiah:" the text Gal. iv. 4. 5. "Effectual Calling, with its fruits, viz. regeneration and sanctification by the holy spirit:" from 2 Tim. i. 9. "Confession of sin, repentance, and conversion to holiness:" on Acts iii. 19. "Of fearing God, and trusting in him:" Psalm xxxi. 19. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper:" on 1 Cor. xi. 23, 26. "The Love of our Neighbour:" the text John xiii. 34, 35. And "The pleasure and advantage of vital religion:" from Rom. vii. 22. These, with the discourses of the other preachers, were, after the course was finished, published in two vols. 8vo, in 1735; and have passed through several editions. Dr. Doddridge, when speaking of them, says, "I cannot recollect where I have seen a set of important thoughts on such various and weighty subjects more judiciously selected, more accurately digested, more closely compacted, more naturally expressed, or in so few words more powerfully enforced, than I have generally found in those sermons." Without determining

whether this encomium be exaggerated or not, it may certainly be pronounced, that the practical strain in which the discourses are drawn up, and the good temper with which the subjects of greatest controversy are here handled, without any censure or even illiberal insinuation against others mingling with the representation of their own views on the points discussed, do great honour to the heart and spirit of the authors.

The other course of lectures, in which Mr. Neal was engaged, arose from an alarm concerning the increase of popery, which prevailed about the end of the year 1734. Some eminent dissenting ministers of the day, of the presbyterian denomination, in conjunction with one of each of the other persuasions, agreed to preach a set of sermons on the main principles and errors, doctrines and practices, of the church of Rome, to guard protestants against the efforts of its emissaries. The gentlemen who engaged in this design were, Mr. John Barker, Dr. Samuel Chandler, Mr. George Smith, Dr. Samuel Wright, Dr. William Harris, Dr. Obadiah Hughes, Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, Mr. Joshua Bayes, Mr. John Newman, Dr. Jabez Earle, Mr. Moses Lowman, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, Mr. Thomas Leavesly, Mr. Joseph Burrough, a minister of the antipædo-baptist persuasion, and Mr. Neal, who was an independent. The subject which fell to his lot to discuss was, "The supremacy of St. Peter, and the bishops of Rome his successors." These discourses were separately printed immediately after each was preached and when the lectures were closed, were collected together and formed two volumes, 8vo.

In the year 1736, came out the third volume of the History of the Puritans: and Mr. Neal's design was completed, by the publication of the fourth, in the year 1738, which brought down the history of

non-conformity to the act of toleration by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1689. This and Mr. Neal's other historical works spread his name through the learned world, and justly secured to him great and permanent reputation. Dr. Jennings speaking of them says, "I am satisfied that there is no judicious and unprejudiced person, that has conversed with the volumes he wrote, but will acknowledge he had an excellent talent at writing history. His style is most easy and perspicuous; and the judicious remarks, which he leads his readers to make upon facts as they go along, make his histories to be not only more entertaining, but to be more instructive and useful than most books of that kind."

While this work was preparing for and going through the press, part of his time was occupied in drawing up and publishing an answer to Dr. Maddox, bishop of St. Asaph; who wrote a pretty long "Vindication of the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the church of England, established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the injurious reflections (as he was pleased to stile them) of Mr. Neal's first volume of the History of the Puritans." This answer was entitled, "A review of the principal facts objected to the first volume of the History of the Puritans." It was reckoned to be written with great judgment, and to establish our historian's character for an impartial regard to truth. And it was reasonably concluded, from this specimen of his powers of defence, that, if his declining state of health had permitted him, he would have as thoroughly vindicated the other volumes from the animadversions afterwards published against them by Dr. Zachary Grey.

The pleasure Mr. Neal had in serving the cause of religious liberty had carried him through his un-

dertaking with amazing alacrity. But he engaged in it at an advanced age, and when his health had begun to decline : this, joined with the close application which he gave to the prosecution of it, brought on a lingering illness, from which he never recovered. He had been all his life subject, in some degree, to a lowness of spirits, and to complaints of an indisposition in his head. His love of study, and an unremitting attention to the duties of his office, rendered him averse to the frequent use of any exercise that took him off from his books. In the end, repeated strokes of the palsy, first gentle and then more severe, which greatly enfeebled all his powers both of body and mind, and baffled the best advice, the aids of medicine and repeated use of the Bath waters, brought him to his grave, perfectly worn out, in the 65th year of his age. He died April 4th, 1743.

During the declining state of his health, Mr. Neal applied to the excellent Dr. Doddridge to recommend some young minister, as an assistant to him. A gentleman was pointed out, and appeared in his pulpit with this view ; and a letter, which on this occasion he wrote to Dr. Doddridge, and which the doctor indorsed with this memorandum, "Some wise Hints," affords such an agreeable specimen of Mr. Neal's good sense, candour, and prudence, as cannot fail, we think, to render it acceptable to our readers.

" Dear Sir,

" Your letter which I received yesterday gave
" me a great deal of agreeable entertainment, and
" made me almost in love with a person that I
" never saw. His character is the very picture of
" what I should wish and pray for. There is no

“ manner of exception that I can hear of, but that
“ of his delivery, which many, with you, hope
“ may be conquered or very much amended. All
“ exudes a very great respect and value for Mr.
“ — and his ministry, and are highly pleased
“ with his serious and affectionate manner. And I
“ am apt to think, when we have heard him again,
“ even the thickness of the pronunciation of some
“ of his words will in a great measure vanish ; it
“ being owing, in a great measure, (according to
“ my son,) to not making his under and upper lip
“ meet together : but be that as it will, this is all,
“ and the very worst that I know of, to use your
“ own expression.

“ I wish, as much as you, that the affair might
“ be speedily issued ; but you know that things of
“ this nature, in which many, and those of a dif-
“ ferent temper, are concerned, must proceed
“ with all tenderness and voluntary freedom, with-
“ out the least shadow of violence or imaginary
“ hurry. Men love to act for themselves, and
“ with spontaneity ; and, as I have sometimes ob-
“ served, have come at length cheerfully and vo-
“ luntarily into measures, which they would have
“ opposed, if they had imagined they were to be
“ driven into them.

“ I don't mention this, as if it was the present
“ case, for I can assure you it is not : but to put
“ you in mind that it may possibly not always be
“ for the best to do things too hastily ; and there-
“ fore I hope you will excuse the digression. I am
“ exceedingly tender of Mr. —'s character and
“ usefulness ; and therefore shall leave it to your
“ prudence to fix the day of his coming up ; and
“ you may depend upon my taking all the pru-
“ dential steps in favour of this affair that I am
“ master of. I hope the satisfaction will be gene-

“ral, but who can answer for it beforehand?
“It has a promising appearance; but if it comes
“out otherwise, you shall have a faithful ac-
“count.

“I am pleased to hear that Mr. — is under so
“good an adviser as yourself, who cannot but be
“apprised of the great importance of this affair
“both to your academy, to myself, and to the pub-
“lic interest of the dissenters in this city: and I
“frankly declare I don’t know any one place
“among us in London where he can sit more easy,
“and enjoy the universal love and affection of a
“good-natured people, which will give him all
“fitting encouragement. We are very thankful to
“you, Sir, for the concern you express for us, and
“the care you have taken for our supply. I hope
“you will have a return, from above, of far greater
“blessings than this world can bestow, and you
“may expect from me all suitable acknowledgements.

“Pray advise Mr. —, when you see him, to
“lay aside all undue concern from his mind, and
“to speak with freedom and ease. Let him endeavour, by an articulate pronunciation, to make
“the elder persons hear and those that sit at a
“greater distance, and all will be well. He has
“already got a place in the affections of many of
“the people; and I believe will quickly captivate
“them all. Assure him that he has a candid audience, who will not make a man an offender for
“a word. Let him speak to the heart, and touch
“the conscience, and show himself in earnest in
“his work: and he will certainly approve himself
“a workman that needs not be ashamed. I beg
“pardon for these hints. Let not Mr. — impress his mind too much with them. My best respects attend your lady and whole family, not

“ forgetting good Mr. —, &c. I am, Sir, in
“ haste,

“ Your affectionate brother,

“ and very humble servant,

“ DANIEL NEAL.

“ London, Saturday evening,

“ May 12, 1739.

“ Brethren, pray for us!”

Disease had, for many months before his death, rendered him almost entirely incapable of public service. This induced him to resign the pastoral office in the November preceding. The considerate, as well as generous manner in which he did it, will appear from the following letter he sent to the church on that occasion :

“ To the church of Christ, meeting in Jewin-
“ street, London.

“ My dear brethren, and beloved in the Lord,

“ God, in his all-wise providence, having seen meet for some time to disable me in a great measure from serving you in the gospel of his Son, and therein to deprive me of one of the greatest satisfactions of my life ; I have been waiting upon him in the use of means for a considerable time, as I thought it my duty to do. But not having found such a restoration as might enable me to stated service, it is my duty to acquiesce in his will. And having looked up to him for direction, I think it best for your sakes to surrender my office of a pastor amongst you.

“ Upon this occasion it becomes me to make my humblest acknowledgments to the blessed God,

“ for that measure of usefulness he has honoured
 “ me with in the course of my labours amongst you ;
 “ and I render you all my unfeigned thanks for
 “ the many affectionate instances of your regard
 “ towards me.

“ May the spirit of God direct you in the choice
 “ of a wise and able pastor, who may have your
 “ spiritual and everlasting welfare at heart. And,
 “ for that end, beware of a spirit of division : Be
 “ ready to condescend to each other's infirmities :
 “ Keep together in the way of your duty, and in
 “ waiting upon God for his direction and blessing :
 “ Remember this is the distinguishing mark of the
 “ disciples of Christ, ‘ that they love one another.’
 “ Finally, my brethren, farewell ; be of good com-
 “ fort and of one mind ; live in peace ; and the
 “ God of love and peace shall be with you.

“ I am, your affectionate well-wisher,

“ and obedient humble servant,

“ DANIEL NEAL.”

From the first attack of his long illness, it appears he had serious apprehensions how it would terminate ; and a letter written from Bath, in April, 1739, to a worthy friend, shows the excellent state of his mind under those views.

“ My greatest concern,” he says, “ is to have
 “ rational and solid expectations of a future happi-
 “ ness. I would not be mistaken, nor build on
 “ the sand ; but would impress my mind with a
 “ firm belief of the certainty of the future world,
 “ and live in a practical preparation for it. I rely
 “ very much on the rational notions we have of the
 “ moral perfections of God, not only as a just but
 “ a benevolent and merciful Being, who knows
 “ our frame, and will make all reasonable allow-

“ances ~~for~~ our imperfections and follies in life ;
 “and not only so, but, upon repentance and faith
 “in Christ, will pardon our past sins, though
 “never so many or great.

“In aid of the imperfection of our rational notions, I am very thankful for the glorious truths
 “of gospel revelation, which are an additional superstructure on the other : for though we can
 “believe nothing contrary to our reason, we have
 “a great many excellent and comfortable discoveries built upon and superadded to it. Upon
 “this double foundation would I build all my expectations, with an humble and awful reverence
 “of the majesty of the Great Judge of all the
 “earth, and a fiducial reliance on the mercy of our
 “Lord Jesus Christ to eternal life. In this frame
 “of mind, I desire to fear God, and keep his
 “commandments.”

In all his sensible intervals, during his last illness, he enjoyed an uncommon serenity of mind ; and behaved becoming a christian and a minister.

This peaceful state of mind and comfortable hope he possessed to the last. About a month before his death, he appeared to his fellow-worshippers, at the Lord's supper, with an air so extraordinary serious and heavenly, as made some present say, *“ he looked as if he were not long for this world.”*

The preceding particulars and his writings will, in part, enable the reader to form for himself a just opinion of Mr. Neal's character : and will certainly give credibility to what is reported concerning it.

He filled the relations of domestic life with integrity and honour ; and left a deep and fond regret in the hearts of his family. In his public connexions, he was the prudent counsellor, and faithful, steady friend. His labours in the pulpit, and his visits in families, while his health continued firm, were edi-

tying and entertaining. He had an easy, agreeable manner, both in the style and in the delivery of his sermons, free from affectation. In conversation, he knew how to mix grave and prudent instruction or advice with a becoming cheerfulness, which made his company to be pleasing and profitable.

He was honoured with the friendship of some in very high stations; and, in early life, contracted an acquaintance with several, who afterwards made a considerable figure in the learned world, both in the established church and amongst the dissenters.

The repeated and frequent invitations he received to appear in the pulpit, on singular and public occasions, especially the share he had in the lectures at Salters'-hall, against popery, are honourable proofs of the respect and estimation in which his abilities and character were in general held, even by those who differed from him in their sentiments on many questions of doctrine and church government.

His own doctrinal sentiments were supposed to come nearest to those of Calvin; which he looked upon as most agreeable to the sacred scriptures, and most adapted to the great ends of religion. But neither were his charity nor his friendships confined to men of his own opinion. The Bible alone was his standard for religious truth: and he was willing and desirous, that all others should be at perfect liberty to take and follow it, as their own rule.—The unchristian heats and unhappy differences, which had arisen amongst Christians by the restraints that had been laid, more or less, by all parties, when in power, on the faith or worship of their fellow-christians, had fixed in him an utter aversion to imposition upon conscience in any shape, and to all such party distinctions as would naturally lead to it.

Mr. Neal married Elizabeth, the only daughter of the Reverend Richard Lardner, many years pastor of a congregation at Deal, and sister of the great and excellent Dr. Lardner. She survived Mr. Neal about five years, dying in 1748. They left a son and two daughters: one of these ladies married Mr. Joseph Jennings, of Fenchurch-street, the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. David Jennings; the other the Rev. Mr. Lister, minister of the dissenting congregation at Ware. His son, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, was an eminent attorney, and secretary to the Million Bank. He wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "A Free and serious Remonstrance to Protestant Dissenting Ministers, on occasion of the decay of religion;" which was republished by the late Rev. Job Orton, in 1775. Many admirable letters of this gentleman to Dr. Doddridge, are given to the public in that instructive and entertaining collection of letters to and from the doctor, which we owe to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury: and who, to the mention of Mr. Nathaniel Neal, adds from a correspondent, "whose character I never think of without the highest veneration and esteem, as few ever possessed more eminently the virtues of the heart, united with a very superior understanding and judgment."

HISTORY

OF

THE PURITANS.

CHAPTER 1.

HENRY VIII.

State of religion before the Reformation.—Life and writings of Wickliffe.—Rise of Penal Laws.—Character of Henry VIII.—Cardinal Wolsey.—The King breaks with the Pope.—His divorce.—Authority of the Pope abolished.---Monasteries suppressed.---Bible translated into English.—Death of Queen Anne Bullen.—The Pope excommunicates the King.—Hinderances of the Reformation.---Persecution of Protestants.---Lambert burned.—Statute of the Six Articles.—Sad effects of it. Lord Cromwel beheaded.—Mixed persecution of Protestants and Papists.—The King's book.—Remarks.—Death of the King.

WILLIAM the Conqueror having got possession of the crown of England by the assistance of Rome, and King John having afterwards sold it, in his wars with the Barons; the rights and privileges of the English clergy were delivered into the hands of the Pope, who taxed them at his pleasure, and in time drained the kingdom of immense treasures: for besides all his other dues, he extorted large sums from the clergy, for their preferments in the church. He advanced foreigners to the richest bishoprics, who never so much as set foot upon English ground: nay, so covetous was his Holiness, that before livings became void, he sold them provisionally among his Italians, so that neither the King, nor the Clergy had any thing to dispose of. This awakened the resentments of

the legislature, who enacted :—"That the King, and other Lords, shall present unto benefices of their own or their ancestors' foundation, and not the Bishop of Rome. That all forestalling of benefices to foreigners, shall cease ; and that the free elections and presentments, &c. of benefices, shall stand in right of the crown, or of any of his Majesty's subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome."

But still the power of Rome ran very high ; for they removed all the trials of titles to advowsons, into their own courts, and though the power of nomination to benefices, without the King's licence, was taken from them, they still claimed the benefit of confirmations, the translations of Bishops, and of excommunications ; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York might still, by virtue of bulls from Rome, assemble the clergy of their provinces, as they thought fit, without leave from the crown ; and all the canons and constitutions concluded upon in those synods, were binding, without any further ratification from the King ; so that the power of the church was independent of the civil government. This being represented to the parliament, they passed the statute commonly called *PRÆMUNIRE*, by which it was enacted :—"That if any of the clergy purchased translations to benefices, processes, sentences of excommunications, bulls, or other instruments from the court of Rome, against the King or his crown, or whoever brought them into England, or received or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's protection, and should forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, and be imprisoned."—From this time the Archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, their synods being formed by a writ from the crown, to consult upon such affairs as the King should lay before them. But still their canons were binding, though confirmed by no authority except their own, till the act of supremacy took place.

About this time flourished the famous John Wickliffe, the morning star of the Reformation. He was borne at Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorkshire, about 1324, and was educated in Queen's College, Oxford, where he was Divinity Professor, and afterwards parson of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. He flourished in the latter end of the reign

of Edward III. and the beginning of Richard II. about one hundred and thirty years before the Reformation of Luther. The University gave this testimonial of him after his death : ---“ that from his youth to the time of his death, his conversation was so praise-worthy, that there was never any spot or blame attached to him ; that in his reading and preaching, he behaved like a valiant champion of the faith ; and that he had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without an equal.”—While he was Divinity Professor at Oxford, he published certain conclusions,---“ against transubstantiation, and the infallibility of the Pope ; that the Church of Rome was not the head of all other churches ; nor had St. Peter the power of the keys, any more than the rest of the Apostles ; that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people.”—He maintained further, most of those points by which the PURITANS were afterwards distinguished ; as, that in the sacrament of orders, there ought to be only two degrees, Presbyters or Bishops, and Deacons ; that all human traditions are sinful ; that we must practise and teach only the laws of Christ ; that mystical ceremonies in religious worship are unlawful ; and, that to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God.

These, with some other of Wickliffe's doctrines, against the temporal grandeur and usurped authority of the Prelates, were sent to Rome, and condemned by the Pope, in a consistory of twenty-three Cardinals. But the Pope dying soon after put a stop to the process. His successor wrote to young King Richard II. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and University of Oxford, to put a stop to the progress of Wickliffism ; accordingly, Wickliffe, was cited before the Abp. of Canterbury, and the Prelates, several times, but was always dismissed, either by the interest of the citizens of London, or the powerful interposition of some Lords at court, or some uncommon providence, which terrified the Bishops from passing a peremptory sentence against him for a considerable time ; till at length his new doctrines, as they were called, were condemned in a convocation of Bishops, &c. held at London,

by the command of the Archbishop of Canterbury: and he was deprived of his professorship, his books and writings being ordered to be burned, and himself to be imprisoned: but he kept out of the way, and in his retirement wrote a confession of his faith to the Pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his opinions at Rome, if God had not visited him with sickness.

It was well for this good man that there were two Anti-Popes at this time at war with each other, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon. In England also there was a minority, which was favourable to Wickliffe, insomuch that he ventured out of his retirement, and returned to his parish, where he died in peace. Wickliffe was a wonderful man for the times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest darkness of anti-christian idolatry; he was the first who translated the New Testament into English; but the art of printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the inquisition of the Prelates, at least it was very scarce when Tyndal translated it a second time, 1527. He preached and published the very same doctrines, for substance, that afterwards obtained at the Reformation; he wrote near two hundred volumes, all of which were called in, condemned, and ordered to be burned, together with his bones, by the council of Constance, forty-one years after his death; but his doctrine remained, and the number of his disciples, who were distinguished by the name of Lollards, increased after his decease, which gave occasion to the making many other severe laws against heretics.

The clergy made their advantage of the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster; both parties courting their assistance, which they did not fail to make use of for the support of the catholic faith, and the advancement of their spiritual tyranny. In the primitive times, there were no capital proceedings against heretics; but when it was found that ecclesiastical censures were not sufficient to keep men in a blind subjection to the Pope, a decree was obtained, in the fourth council of Lateran:—"That all heretics should be delivered over to the civil magistrate to be burned."—Here was the spring of that anti-christian tyranny over conscience, which has been fol-

lowed with a sea of Christian blood: the papists learned it from the heathen emperors; and the most zealous protestants of all nations have taken it up from them. But conscience cannot be convinced by fines and imprisonments, or by fire and faggot; all attempts of this kind serve only to make men hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the name of persecution. There was no pretence for putting these sanguinary laws in execution among us, till the latter end of the fourteenth century; but when the followers of Wickliffe threatened the papal power, the clergy brought this Italian drug from Rome, and planted it in the Church of England.

In the fifth year of Richard II. it was enacted:—"That all who preached without licence against the catholic faith, or the laws of the land, should be arrested, and kept in prison till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy church, &c. When Richard II. was deposed, and the crown usurped by Henry IV. in order to gain the good will of the clergy, a law was enacted by which the King's subjects were put from under his protection, and left to the the mercy of the Bishops in their spiritual courts, and might, upon *suspicion* of heresy, be imprisoned and put to death, without presentment, or trial by a jury, as is the practice in all other criminal cases. In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. a new law passed against the Lollards:—"That they should forfeit all the lands they had in fee simple, and all their goods and chattels to the King. All state officers, at their entrance into office, were sworn to use their best endeavours to discover them; and to assist in prosecuting and convicting them."—I find no mention in these acts of a writ or warrant from the King, *de hæretico comburendo*; the sheriff might proceed to the burning of heretics without it, till the King's council advised him to issue out a writ of this kind to the sheriff, by which his Majesty took them, in some sort, under his protection again; but it was not as yet necessary by law, nor are there any of them to be found in the rolls, before the reign of Henry VIII. By virtue of these statutes, the clergy, according to the genius of the popish religion, exercised numberless cruel-

ties upon the people. If any man denied them any degree of respect, or those profits they pretended were their due, he was immediately suspected of heresy, imprisoned, and often put to death.

THUS stood the laws, when Henry VIII. second son of Henry VII. came to the crown. He understood the purity of the Latin tongue, and was well acquainted with school divinity. No flattery pleased him better than to have his wisdom and learning commended. In the beginning of his reign he was a most obedient son of the papacy, and employed his talents in writing against Luther, in defence of the seven sacraments of the church. This book was magnified by the clergy as the most learned performance of the age; and upon presenting it to the Pope, his holiness conferred upon Henry and his successors, the glorious title of Defender of the Faith. At the same time Cardinal Wolsey: the King's favourite exercised a sovereign power over the clergy and people of England in spiritual matters; he was made Legate, and excepted of a bull from the Pope, contrary to the statute of præmunire, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amiss in the provinces of Canterbury and York; and to appoint all officers in the spiritual courts. The King also granted him full power to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown; with a visitatorial power over monasteries, colleges, and all his clergy. By virtue of these past powers, a new court of justice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, and numberless rapines and extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming men's manners.

But at length the King being weary of his Queen, or being troubled in conscience because he had married his brother's wife, and the legitimacy of his daughter, having been called in question by some foreign Princes, he first separated from her bed, and then moved the Pope for a divorce; but the court of Rome having held his Majesty in suspense for two or three years for fear of offending the Emperor the Queen's Nephew, the impatient King by the advice of Dr. Cranmer, appealed to the principal

Universities of Europe, and desired their opinion upon these two questions:—1. Whether it was agreeable to the law of God for a man to marry his brother's wife? 2. Whether the Pope could dispense with the law of God? All the Universities, and most of the learned men of Europe both Lutherans and Papists, except those at Rome, declared for the negative of the two questions. The King laid their determinations before the parliament and convocation, who agreed with the foreign Universities. In the convocation of English clergy, two hundred and fifty-three were for the divorce, and only nineteen against it. Many books were writ for and against the lawfulness of the marriage; one party being encouraged by the King, and the other by the Pope and Emperor. The Pope cited the King to Rome, but his Majesty ordered the Earl of Wiltshire to protest against the citation, as contrary to the prerogative of his crown; and sent a letter, signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, exhorting his Holiness to confirm the judgment of the learned men, and of the Universities of Europe, by annulling his marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other measures: The Pope in his answer told him, that the Queen's appeal and avocation of the cause to Rome must be granted. The King seeing himself abused, and that the affair which had been already determined by the most learned men in Europe, and had been argued before the legates, must commence again, began to suspect Wolsey's sincerity; upon which his Majesty sent for the seals from him, and soon after commanded his Attorney-General to exhibit an information against him in the King's Bench, because that, notwithstanding the statute of *Richard II.* against procuring bulls from Rome, under the pains of a *præmunire*, he had received bulls for his legantine power. The Cardinal pleaded ignorant of the statute, and submitted to the King's mercy; upon which he was declared to be out of the King's protection, to have forfeited his possessions, and that his person might be seized. The haughty Cardinal, not knowing how to bear his disgrace, fell sick and died, declaring in his last moments, That "If he had served God as well as he had done his Prince, he would not have given him over in his grey hairs;"

But the King, not satisfied with his resentments against the Cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the Pope himself, and a week before the Cardinal's death, he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to purchase any thing from Rome under the severest penalties; and resolved to annex the ecclesiastical supremacy to his own crown for the future. It was easy to foresee that the clergy would start at the King's assuming to himself the Pope's supremacy, but his Majesty had them at his mercy; for having acknowledged Wolsey's legatine power, and submitted to his jurisdiction, his Majesty caused an indictment to be preferred against them, and obtained judgment upon the statute of *præmunire*, whereby the whole body were declared to be out of the King's protection, and to have forfeited all their goods and chattels. In this condition they were glad to submit upon the best terms they could make, the King refusing to pardon them except upon these conditions. That the two provinces of Canterbury and York should pay into the Exchequer 118,840*l.*; and that they should yield his Majesty the title of sole and supreme head of the Church of England, immediately under Christ. The former they readily complied with, and promised for the future never to assemble in convocation without the King's writ; nor to make or execute any canons or constitutions without his Majesty's licence: but to acknowledge a layman supreme head of an ecclesiastical body, was such an absurdity, in their opinion, and so inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope, that they could not yield to it without an additional clause, "As far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ." The King accepted it with this restriction, but a year or two after obtained the confirmation of it in parliament and convocation without the clause.

The substance of the act of supremacy is as follows:—
"The King is, and ought to be, the supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for confirmation and corroboration thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion, within the realm, &c. Be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the King, his heirs and successors, shall be taken, accepted,

and reputed, the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England; and shall have and enjoy, united to the imperial crown, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, immunities, &c. to the said dignity of supreme head of the said church belonging and appertaining; and that our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, &c. all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, may be lawfully reformed."—Here was the rise of the reformation. The whole power of reforming heresies and errors in doctrine and worship was transferred from the Pope to the King, without any regard to the rights of synods or councils of the clergy; and without a reserve of liberty to such consciences as could not comply with the public standard. This was undoubtedly a change for the better, though far from consonant to scripture or reason.

The parliament had already forbid all appeals to the court of Rome, in causes testamentary, matrimonial, and in all disputes concerning divorces, tithes, oblations, &c. under penalty of a *præmunire*; and were now voting away annates and first fruits; and providing,—“That in case the Pope denied his Bulls for electing or consecrating Bishops, it should be done without them by the Archbishop of the Province; that an Archbishop might be consecrated by any two Bishops whom the King should appoint; and being so consecrated, should enjoy all the rights of his see.”—All which acts passed both houses without any considerable opposition. Thus, the Pope stood trifling about a contested marriage, while the King and parliament were taking away all his authority in the Church of England. His Majesty having waited six years for a determination of his marriage from Rome, and being now himself head of the Church of England, commanded Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to call a court of canonists and divines and proceed to judgment. Accordingly his grace summoned Queen Catharine to appear at Dunstable, near the place where she resided, in person or by proxy, but her Majesty refused to appear, adhering to her appeal to the Court of Rome; upon which the Archbishop, by advice of the

court, declared her *contumax* or in contempt, and pronounced the King's marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the laws of God. Soon after which his Majesty married Anne Bullen, and procured an act of parliament, for setting the crown upon the heirs of her body, the contents of which act all his subjects were sworn to observe.

There was a remarkable appearance of divine providence in this affair; for the French King had prevailed with the King of England, to refer his cause once more to the Court of Rome, upon assurances given, that the Pope should decide it in his Majesty's favour within a limited time; the Pope consented, and fixed a time for the return of the King's answer, but the courier not arriving upon the very day, the Imperialists, who dreaded an alliance between the Pope and the King of England, persuaded his Holiness to give sentence against him, and accordingly the marriage was declared good, and the King was required to take his wife again, otherwise the censures of the church would be denounced against him. Two days after, the courier arrived from England with the King's submission, but it was then too late, it being hardly decent for the infallible chair to revoke its decrees in so short a time. Such was the crisis of the Reformation!

The Pope having decided against the King, his Majesty determined to take away all his profits and authority in the Church of England at once; accordingly a bill was brought into parliament and passed without any protestation, by which it is enacted:—"That all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease; and that all dispensations or licences, for things not contrary to the law of God should be granted within the kingdom, under the seals of the two Archbishops in their several provinces. The Pope was to have no further concern in the nomination or confirmation of Bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by *conge de elire* from the crown, as at present. Peter Pence, and all procurations from Rome were abolished. Moreover, all religious houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the Archbishops' visitation, except some monasteries and abbeys which were to be

subject to the King.”—Most of the Bishops voted against this bill, though all, except one, set their hands to it after it was passed, according to the custom of those times. Thus the Church of England became independent of the Pope, and of all foreign jurisdiction.

Complaints being daily made of the severe proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts against heretics, the parliament took this matter into consideration, and repealed the act of the 2d of Henry IV. leaving the statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. in full force, with this qualification, that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments by a jury, or on the oaths of two witnesses at least; that they should be brought to answer in open court, and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapsed, they should be adjudged to death, the King’s writ being first obtained. By this act the ecclesiastical courts were limited; heretics being now to be tried according to the forms of law, as in other cases.

Towards the latter end of this session, the clergy assembled in convocation, sent up their submission to the King to be passed in parliament, which was done accordingly. The contents were:—“That the clergy acknowledged all convocations ought to be assembled by the King’s writ; and promised that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions without the royal assent; and, since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the King’s prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that therefore there should be a committee of thirty-two persons, sixteen of the two houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to be named by the King, who should have full power to revise the old canons, and to abrogate, confirm, or alter them as they found expedient, the King’s assent being obtained.”—This submission was confirmed by parliament, and by the same act, all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any parties found themselves aggrieved in the Archbishop’s courts, an appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal for a hearing before delegates, whose determination should be final. All exempted abbots were also to appeal to the King; and the act concluded

with a proviso:—"That till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, or were to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative."—Upon the proviso of this act, the jurisdiction of the Commons, and other spiritual courts, is founded at this day; for the canons not being corrected, the old ones are in force, with the exceptions above-mentioned; and this proviso is probably the reason why the canons were not corrected in the following reigns, for now it lies in the breasts of the judges to prohibit proceedings contrary to the laws, or rights of the crown, which is more for the subjects' safety, than to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws which should be liable to no controul.

Before the parliament broke up, they gave the annates, or first fruits of benefices, and the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings which had been taken from the Pope last year, to the King. This displeased the clergy, who were in hopes of being freed from that burthen. The session being ended, commissioners were sent over the kingdom, to administer the oath of succession, by which it appears, that besides renewing their allegiance to the King, and acknowledging him to be the head of the church, they declared the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Anne; that the Bishop of Rome had no more power than any other Bishop in his own diocese; that they would submit to all the King's laws, notwithstanding the Pope's censures; &c. Only Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Chancellor More, refused to take the oath, for which they were afterwards executed.

The separation of the Church of England from Rome, contributed towards the reformation of its doctrines, though the body of the inferior clergy were as stiff in their old opinions as ever, being countenanced and supported by the Duke of Norfolk, by the Lord Chancellor, and by the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester; but some of the Nobility and Bishops were for a further reformation.—Among these were the new Queen, Lord Cromwel, Crammer, Shaxton, and Latimer. As these were more or less in favour with the King, the reformation of religion went forwards or backwards, throughout the whole course of his reign.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany, by the preaching of Luther, Melancton, and others, with the number of books that were published in those parts, some of which were translated into English, revived learning, and raised people's curiosity to look into the state of religion at home. One of the first books that was published, was the translation of the New Testament, by Tyndal. The next was the Supplication of the Beggars, by Simon Fish, of Gray's-Inn. It was levelled against the begging Friars, and complains that the common poor were ready to starve, because the alms of the people were intercepted by great companies of idle Friars, who were able to work, and were a burthen to the commonwealth. More and Fisher answered the book, endeavouring to move the people's passions, by representing the supplications of the souls in purgatory, which were relieved by the masses of these Friars. But the strength of their argument lying in the sword of the Magistrate, that was not now in their hands; for while these gentlemen were in power, the clergy made sad havoc among those people who were seeking after Christian knowledge. Some were cited into the Bishops' courts, for teaching their children the Lord's prayer, in English; some for reading forbidden books; some for speaking against the vices of the clergy; some for not coming to confession and the sacrament; and some for not observing the church fasts; most of whom, through fear of death, did penance and were dismissed; but several of the clergy refusing to abjure, or after abjuration falling into a relapse, suffered death. Among these were Mr. Hitton, curate of Maidstone, burnt in Smithfield, Mr. Biluey, burnt at Norwich, Mr. Byfield, of St. Edmondsbury, and Mr. Bainham of the Temple, besides two men and a woman at York. Mr. Frith, an excellent scholar of the University of Cambridge, was burnt in Smithfield, with one Hewet, a poor apprentice, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but upon the rupture between the King and Pope, and the repeal of the act of Henry IV. against heretics, the wings of the clergy were clipped, and a stop put to their cruelties for a time.

None were more averse to the Reformation than the Monks and Friars; these spoke openly against the King's

proceedings, exciting the people to rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his affairs with foreign Princes; the King therefore resolved to humble them, and for this purpose appointed a general visitation of the monasteries, the management of which was committed to Lord Cromwel, with the title of Visitor-General, who appointed other Commissioners under him, and gave them injunctions and articles of enquiry. Upon this, several Abbots and Priors, to prevent a scrutiny into their conduct, voluntarily surrendered their houses into the King's hands; other, upon examination, appeared guilty of the greatest frauds and impositions on the simplicity of the people. Many of their pretended relics were exposed and destroyed; as the Virgin Mary's Milk; the Coals that roasted St. Lawrence; an Angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side; the Rood of Grace, which was so contrived, that the eyes and lips might move upon occasion; with many others. The images of a great many pretended saints were burnt, and all the rich offerings made at their shrines, were seized for the crown.

Upon the reports of Visitors, the parliament consented to the suppression of the lesser monasteries, and gave them to the King, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six. Their rents amounted to about 32,000*l.* per ann. their plate, jewels, and furniture, to about 100,000*l.* The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down, and the lead and bells, and other materials, sold. A new court, called the Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue, was erected, to receive the rents, and to dispose of the lands, and bring the profits into the Exchequer. Every religious person that was turned out of his cell, had 15*s.* given him in money, of which number there were about 10,000; and every governor had a pension. But to ease the government of this charge, the Monks and Friars were put into benefices as fast as they became vacant, by which means it came to pass, that the body of the inferior clergy were disguised Papists, and enemies of the Reformation. The lesser religious houses being dissolved, the rest followed, and in a few years, the greater abbeys and monasteries were broken up, or surrendered to the crown, to prevent an inquiry into their lives and manners. This raised a great clamour

among the people, the Monks and Friars going up and down the country like beggars, clamouring at the injustice of the suppression. The King, to quiet them, gave back fifteen abbeys and sixteen nunneries, for perpetual alms; but several of the Abbots being convicted of plots and conspiracies against his government, his Majesty resumed his grants, after two years, and obtained an act of parliament whereby he was empowered to erect cathedral churches and Bishoprics, and to endow them out of the profits of the religious houses. The King intended to convert 18,000*l.* a year into a revenue for eighteen bishoprics and cathedrals; but six only were erected. This was the chief of what his Majesty did for religion; which was but a small return of the immense sums of money that fell into his hands; for the clear rents of all the suppressed houses were cast up at one hundred thirty one thousand, six hundred and seven pounds, six shillings, and fourpence per annum, as they were then rated, but were at least ten times as much in value. Most of the abbey lands were given away among the courtiers, or sold at easy rates to the gentry, to engage them by interest against the resumption of them to the church. In the year 1545, the parliament gave the King the chauntries, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, and guilds, with their manors and estates. Seventy manors and parks were alienated from the Archbishopric of York, and twelve from Canterbury, and confirmed to the crown.

The translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, had a wonderful spread among the people; though the Bishops condemned it, and proceeded with the utmost severity against those who read it. They complained of it to the King; upon which his Majesty called it in by proclamation, and promised that a more correct translation should be published: But it was impossible to stop the curiosity of the people so long; for though the Bishops bought up, and burnt all they could meet with, the Testament was reprinted abroad and sent over to merchants in London, who dispersed the copies privately among their acquaintance and friends. At length it was moved in convocation, that the whole Bible should be translated into English; and set up in churches; but most of the old clergy opposed it. They said this would lay the foundation of innumerable

heresies, as it had done in Germany; and that the people were not proper judges of the sense of scripture: To which it was replied, that the scriptures were written at first in the vulgar tongue; that our Saviour commanded his hearers to search the scriptures; and that it was necessary people should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the alterations the King had made in religion, were not contrary to the Word of God. These arguments prevailed with the majority to consent, that a petition should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would please to give orders about it. But the old Bishops were too much disinclined to move in it. The reformers therefore were forced to have recourse to Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at Hamburgh 1532, and reprinted three or four years after. The translators were Tyndal, assisted by Coverdale and Rogers the protomartyr: The Apocrypha was done by Rogers, and some marginal notes were inserted to the whole which gave offence, and occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But Archbishop Cranmer having reviewed and corrected it, left out the prologues and notes, and added a preface of his own; and because Tyndal was now put to death for an heretic, his name was laid aside, and it was called Thomas Matthew's Bible, and by some Cranmer's Bible; though it was no more than Tyndal's translation corrected. This Bible was allowed by authority, and eagerly read by all sorts of people.

The fall of Queen Anne Bullen, mother of Queen Elizabeth, was a great prejudice to the Reformation. She was a virtuous and pious lady, but airy and indiscreet in her behaviour. The Popish party hated her for her religion, and having awakened the King's jealousy, put him upon a nice observance of her carriage, by which she quickly fell under his displeasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower, and she was tried by her peers for incontinence, for a pre-contract of marriage, and for conspiring the King's death; and though there was little or no evidence, the Lords found her guilty, for fear of offending the King, and four days after, she was beheaded within the Tower, protesting her innocence to the last. Soon after her execution, the King called a parliament, to set aside the succession of the Lady Elizabeth, her daughter, which

was done; and the King was empowered to nominate his successor by his last will and testament; so that both his Majesty's daughters were now declared illegitimate: but the King having power to settle the succession as he pleased in case of failure of male heirs, they both entertained hopes, and quietly submitted to their father's pleasure.

Complaint being made at court of the diversity of doctrines delivered in pulpits, the King sent a circular letter to the bishops, forbidding all preaching till Michaelmas, by which time certain articles of religion most catholic should be set forth. The King himself framed the articles and sent them into convocation, where they were agreed to by both houses, and afterwards signed by the Abp. of Canterbury, seventeen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation. They were published by the King's authority, with a preface in his name, requiring all his subjects to accept them, which would encourage him to take farther pains for the honour of God, and the welfare of his people. One may see in them the dawn of the reformation; the scriptures and the ancient creeds are made the standards of faith, without the tradition of the church, or decrees of the Pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four of the seven sacraments are passed over; and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints, still remained.

The court of Rome were not idle spectators of these proceedings; they threatened the King, and spirited up the clergy to rebellion, and when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the whole kingdom, depriving his Majesty of his crown and dignity, forbidding his subjects to obey him, and foreign princes to correspond with him; all his leagues with them were dissolved, and his own clergy were commanded to depart the kingdom, and his nobility to rise in arms against him. The King, laying hold of this opportunity, called a parliament, and obtained an act, requiring his subjects, under the pains of treason, to swear that the King was supreme head of the Church of England; and, to strike terror into the Popish party, three Priors and

a Monk of the Carthusian order, and three Monks of the Charter-House, were executed as traitors, for refusing the oath, and for saying, that the King was not supreme of the Church of England; but the two greatest sacrifices were Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir T. More, late Lord Chancellor, men of distinguished abilities, who were both beheaded within a fortnight of each other. This quieted the people for a time; but soon after there was an insurrection in Lincolnshire of twenty thousand men, who, upon a proclamation of pardon, dispersed themselves. The same year there was another more formidable in the north, but, after some time, the rebels were defeated by the Duke of Norfolk, and the heads of them executed, among whom were divers abbots and priests. These commotions incensed the King against the religious houses, as nurseries of sedition, and made him resolve to suppress them all. In the mean time his Majesty went on boldly against the Church of Rome, and published certain injunctions, by his own authority, to regulate the behaviour of the clergy. This was the first act of pure supremacy done by the King, for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the convocation. And thus the very same opinions for which the followers of Wickliffe and Luther had been burnt a few years before, were now enjoined by the King's authority.

This year a very remarkable book was printed, entitled, **THE INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN**. It was called the Bishops' Book, because it was composed by sundry Bishops. It is divided into several chapters, and contains an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory. This book maintains the local descent of Christ into Hell, and that all articles of faith are to be interpreted according to scripture, and the four first general councils. It defends the seven sacraments, and under the sacrament of the altar, affirms, that the body of Christ, that suffered on the cross, is substantially present under the form of bread and wine. It maintains but two orders of the clergy, and avers that no one Bishop has authority over another, according to the Word of God. The invocation of saints is restrained to intercession, for as much as they have it not in their own power to bestow

any blessing upon us. It maintains, that no church should be consecrated to any being but God. It gives liberty to work on saints' days, especially in harvest time. It maintains the doctrine of passive obedience. In the article of justification it says, we are justified only by the merits and satisfaction of Christ, and that no good works on our part can procure the divine favour, or prevail for our justification. This book was recommended and subscribed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and by the lower house of convocation, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their brethren to death for these doctrines in the reign of Queen Mary; and the reason of their present compliance might be, that all their hopes from the succession of the Princess Mary, a rigid papist, were now defeated, Queen Jane being brought to bed of a son this year, who was baptized EDWARD and succeeded his father.

The translation of the Bible was this year published. Lord Cromwel procured the King's warrant for all his Majesty's subjects to read it without controul; and by his injunctions commanded one to be set up publicly in all the churches in England, that the people might read it. His Majesty farther enjoin'd the clergy, to preach the necessity of faith and repentance, and against trusting in pilgrimages and other men's works; to order such images as had been abused to superstition, to be taken down: and to tell the people, that praying to them was no less than idolatry: but still transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, the communion in one kind only, purgatory, auricular confession, praying for the dead, the celibacy of the clergy, sprinkling of holy water, invocation of saints, some images in churches, with most of the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the popish church, were retained.

Here his Majesty made a stand, for after this the reformation fluctuated, and upon the whole, went rather backwards than forwards, which was owing to several causes; as, 1. To the unhappy death of the Queen, in child-bed, who had possession of the King's heart, and was a promoter of the reformation. 2. To the King's disagreement with the protestant Princes of Germany, who would not put him at the head of their league, because he would not abandon

the doctrine of transubstantiation, and permit the communion in both kinds. 3. To the King's displeasure against the archbishop, and the other bishops of the new learning, because he could not prevail with them to give consent in parliament, that the King should appropriate all the suppressed monasteries to his own use. 4. To his Majesty's unhappy marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, a protestant, which was promoted by the reformers, and proved the ruin of the Lord Cromwel, who was at that time the bulwark of the reformation. 5. To the artifice and abject submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish bishops, who, by flattering the King's imperious temper, and complying with his dictates, prejudiced him against the reformed. And lastly, to his Majesty's growing infirmities, which made him so peevish and positive, that it was dangerous to advise any thing that was not known to be agreeable to his sovereign will and pleasure.

The King began to discover his zeal against the Sacramentaries (as those were called, who denied the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist), by prohibiting the importing of all foreign books, and the printing any portions of scripture, till they had been examined by himself and council, or by the bishop of the diocese; by punishing all who denied the old rites, and by forbidding any to argue against the real presence of Christ, in the sacrament, on pain of death. For breaking this last order, he condemned to the flames, this very year, that faithful witness to the truth, John Lambert, who had been minister of the English congregation at Antwerp, and afterwards taught a school in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real presence, he offered him a paper of reasons against it: Taylor carried the paper to Cranmer, who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; Lambert unhappily appealed to the King, who after a kind of mock trial, in Westminster Hall, passed sentence of death upon him, condemning him to be burnt as on incorrigible heretic. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Lord Cromwel to read the sentence. He was soon after executed in Smithfield, in a most barbarous manner; his last words in the flames being, "None but Christ, none but Christ!"

The parliament that met next spring greatly injured the reformation, and brought religion back to the standard at which it remained to the King's death, by the act commonly known by the name of the bloody statute, for the statute of six articles; it was intitled, an act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion. The six articles were these.—1. That, in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but, under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ are present. 2. That communion in both kinds, is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds. 3. That priests may not marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. 5. That private masses ought to be continued, which, as they are agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them. 6. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church. It was further enacted, that if any should preach or write against the first article, they should be judged heretics, and burnt, without any abjuration, and forfeit their real and personal estate to the King. Those who preached or disputed against the other articles, were to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy; and those who, either in word or writing, declared against them, were to be made prisoners during the King's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods and chattels, for the first offence, and for the second, to suffer death. All ecclesiastical incumbents, or settled ministers, were to read this act in their churches once a quarter.

As soon as the six articles took place, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned their bishoprics, and being presented for speaking against the act, were imprisoned; Latimer continued a prisoner to the King's death, but Shaxton being threatened with the fire turned apostate, and proved a cruel persecutor of the Protestants in Mary's reign. Commissions were issued out to the Archbishops, Bishops and their commissioners, to hold sessions quarterly, or oftner, and to proceed upon presentments by a jury according to law; which they did most

severely, insomuch that in a very little time five hundred persons were put in prison and involved in the guilt of the statute; but Cranmer and Cromwel, who were among the delinquents, obtained their pardon, which mortified the Popish clergy to such a degree, that they proceeded no farther till Cromwel fell.

Another very remarkable act of parliament passed this session, was concerning obedience to the King's proclamation. It enacts, that the King with advice of his council, may set forth proclamations with pains and penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an act of parliament, provided they be not contrary to the laws and customs in being, and do not extend so far as that the subjects should suffer in estate, liberty or person. An act of attainder was also passed against sixteen persons, some for denying the supremacy, and others without specifying any particular crime; none of them were brought to a trial, nor is there any mention in the records, of any witnesses having been examined. There never had been an example of such arbitrary proceedings before in England; yet this precedent was followed by others in the course of this reign. By another statute it was enacted, that the counsellors of the King's successor, if he were under age, might set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the King himself. I mention this, because upon the authority of this act, was founded the validity of all the changes of religion in the minority of Edward VI.

Next year happened the fall of the great Lord Cromwel, one of the pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately constituted the King's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and had made a speech in parliament under that character. On the 14th of April the King created him Earl of Essex, &c. and within two months after he was arrested at the council table for high treason, and sent to the tower, and soon afterwards was beheaded by virtue of a bill of attainder, without being brought to a trial, or once allowed to speak in his own defence. He was accused of executing certain orders and directions, for which he had very probably the King's warrant, and therefore was not admitted to make answer. But the true cause of his fall, was the share he had

in the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, to whom his Majesty took an aversion as soon as he saw her, and was therefore determined to shew his resentment against the promoters of it; though his Majesty, when it was too late, lamented the loss of his able and faithful servant.

Two days after the death of Lord Cromwel, there was a very odd execution of Protestants and Papists at the same time and place. The Protestants, all clergymen and Lutherans were sent to the Tower for offensive sermons preached at the Spittal in Easter week, and were attainted of heresy by the parliament without being brought to a hearing. Four Papists were, by the same act, attainted for denying the King's supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of Rome. The Protestants were burnt, and the Papists hanged: The former cleared themselves of heresy, by rehearsing the articles of their faith at the stake, and died with great devotion and piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the same hurdle with those they accounted heretics, declared their hearty forgiveness of their enemies.

About this time was published a very remarkable treatise, entitled "A necessary Erudition for a Christian Man." It was drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines, and was afterwards read and approved by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower house of parliament. A great part of it was corrected by the King's own hand, and the whole was published by his order, with a preface in his name, dedicated to all his faithful subjects. It was called the King's Book, and was designed as a standard of christian belief.

By this book it appears that our reformers built pretty much upon the plan of St. Austin, with relation to the doctrines of justification and grace. The sacraments and ceremonies are so contrived, as to be consistent with the six articles established by parliament. With regard to discipline, Cranmer and his brethren were for being directed wholly by the civil magistrate, which has since been distinguished by the name of Erastianism. Accordingly they took out commissions to hold their bishoprics during the King's pleasure, and to exercise their jurisdiction by his authority only. But notwithstanding this reformation of doctrine, the old popish forms of worship were continued till this year, when an attempt was made to reform them.

A form of procession was published in English, by the King's authority, entitled "An Exhortation to Prayer," thought meet by his Majesty and his clergy, to be read to the people; also, a litany, with suffrages to be said or sung in the time of the processions. In the litany they invoke the blessed virgin, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, to pray for them. The rest of the litany is in a manner the same as that now in use, only a few more collects were placed at the end, with some psalms, and a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer. The preface is an exhortation to the duty of prayer, and says, that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private prayer in our mother tongue, that by understanding what we ask, we may more earnestly and fervently desire the same. The hand of Cranmer was no doubt in this performance, but it was little regarded, notwithstanding a mandate was sent to Bonner, Bishop of London, to publish it.

Cranmer's power was now very much weakened; he strove against the stream, and could accomplish nothing further, except a small mitigation of the rigorous prosecution of the six articles. This rendered prosecutions the more difficult; and yet after all, several were burnt at this time, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. The books of Tyndal, Frith, Joy, and other protestants, were ordered to be burnt; and the importation of all foreign books relating to religion was prohibited, without special licence from the King.

Upon the whole, the reformation very much declined the three or four last years of the King's life, as appears by a statute, which leads the people back into some of the strong holds of popery, This says:—"That recourse must be had to the catholic and apostolic church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any articles of faith, or holy scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth in the six articles shall be abolished. No person shall sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings against the holy sacrament; or other books abolished by proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any church. No woman, or artificers,

apprentices, journey-men, serving-men, husband-men, or labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions. If any spiritual person shall be convicted of preaching or maintaining any thing contrary to the King's instructions, he shall for the first offence recant, for the second bear a faggot, and for the third be burnt."—Here are popery and spiritual slavery in their full extent. Indeed the Pope is discharged of his jurisdiction and authority; but a like authority is vested in the crown. His Majesty's instructions are as binding as the Pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute lord of the consciences of his subjects. * No bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves; nor do any act of government in the church but by his special commission.

Thus the regal power was carried to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of privilege for convocations, councils, or colleges of bishops. The King may ask their advice, or call them in to his assistance, but his Majesty has not only a negative voice upon their proceedings, but may himself, by his letters patent, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship. His proclamations have the force of a law, and his subjects are obliged to believe, obey and profess according thereto, under the highest penalties. And thus matters stood, when this great and absolute monarch died of an ulcer in his leg, being so corpulent, that he was forced to be let up and down stairs with an engine. The humour in his leg made him so peevish, that scarce any body durst speak to him of the affairs of his kingdom or of a future life. He died Jan. 28, 1546, in the 38th year of his reign, and the 56th of his age. He ought to be ranked among the ill princes, but not among the worst.

CHAP. II.



EDWARD VI.

English Reformation.—Royal Visitation.—Popish Law repealed.—Foreign Divines take refuge in England.—First Reformation of the Communion, &c.—Rebellions on behalf of the old Religion.—Heretics burned.—Mass Books called in.—Hooper's Character.—His hard usage.—Gardiner deprived.—Remarks.—Blemishes of the Reformation.—Origin of English Convocations.—The King's Death, and Character.

THE sole right and authority of reforming the church was now vested in the crown; and by the act of succession, in the King's council, if he were under age. This was preferable to a foreign jurisdiction; it yet can hardly be proved, that either the King or his council have a right to judge for the whole nation, and impose upon the people what religion they think best, without their consent. The reformation of the church had been begun and carried on by the King, assisted by Archbishop Cranmer, and a few select divines. The clergy in convocation not moving in it, but as they were directed and over-awed by their superiors; nor did they comply at all till they were modelled to the designs of the court.

EDWARD VI. came to the crown at the age of nine years and four months; a prince for learning and piety, for acquaintance with the world, and application to business, the wonder of his age. His father, by his will, named sixteen persons executors, and regents of the kingdom, till his son should be eighteen years of age: out of these the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, was chosen protector of the King's realms, and governor of his person. Besides these

twelve were added as a privy council to assist them. Among the regents some were for the old religion, and others for the new; but it soon appeared that the reformers had the ascendent, the young King having been educated in their principles by his tutor Dr. Cox, and the new protector his uncle being on the same side. The majority of the bishops and inferior clergy were on the side of popery, but the government being in the hands of the reformers, they began immediately to relax the rigours of the late reign. The persecution upon the six articles were stopt; the prison doors were set open; and several who had been forced to quit the kingdom for their religion, returned home; as Coverdale, Hooper, Rogers, and many others, who were preferred to considerable benefices in the church. The reforming divines now began to lay open the abuses of popery. Ridley and others preached vehemently against images in churches, and inflamed the people, so that in many place they out-run the law, and pulled them down without authority. Some preached against the lawfulness of masses and obits, though the late King had left a large sum to have them continued, and for a frequent distribution of alms for the repose of his soul, and its deliverance out of purgatory; but this charity was soon afterwards converted to other uses. The popish clergy were alarmed at these measures, and insisted strongly, that till the King their supreme head was of age, religion should continue in the state in which King Henry left it. But the reformers alleged that the King's authority was the same while he was a minor, as when he was of age; and that having heard the late King declare his resolution to turn the mass into a communion, if he had lived a little longer, they thought it their duty to proceed.

After the solemnity of the King's coronation, the regents appointed a royal visitation, and commanded the clergy to preach no where except in their parish churches without licence, till the visitation was ended. The kingdom was divided into six circuits; two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register being appointed for each. The divines were, by their preaching, to instruct the people in the doctrines of the reformation, and to bring them off from their old superstitions. The visitation began in

August, and six of the gravest divines, and most popular preachers attended it. A book of Homilies, consisting of twelve discourses, upon the principle points of the Christian faith, was printed and ordered to be left with every parish priest, to supply the defect of preaching, which few of the clergy were capable of performing. Craumer communicated it to Gardiner, and would fain have gained his approbation, but he was so inflamed at being left out of the King's will, that he constantly opposed every alteration till the King should attain his full age. With these homilies, the visitors were to deliver sundry injunctions from the King.

The bishops were commanded to see them put in execution, and to preach themselves four times a year, unless they had a reasonable excuse. They were commanded to give orders to none but such as were able to preach, and to recall their licences from others. The injunctions were to be observed under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation.

In bidding of their prayers they were to remember the King their supreme head, the queen dowager, the King's two sisters, the lord protector and the council, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons of this realm. The custom of bidding prayer, which is still in use in the church, is a relic of popery. And how sadly this bidding of prayer has been since abused by some divines, to the entire omission of the duty itself, is too well known to need any remark.

Most of the bishops complied, except Bonner and Gardiner. Bonner offered a reserve, which not being accepted, he made an absolute submission; nevertheless he was committed sometime to the Fleet for contempt. Gardiner having protested against the injunctions and homilies as contrary to the law of God, was sent also to the Fleet, where he continued till he was released by a general act of grace.

When the parliament met several alterations were made in favour of the reformation. They repealed all laws declaring any thing treason except what was specified in the act of 25th Edward III; and two of the statutes against Lollardies. They repealed the statute of the six articles, with the acts that followed in explanation of it;

all laws in the late reign, declaring any thing felony that was not so declared before; together with the act that made the King's proclamation of equal authority with an act of parliament. Besides the repeal of these laws, sundry new ones were enacted; as, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered in both kinds, agreeably to Christ's first institution, and the practice of the church, for five hundred years; and that all private masses should be put down. An act, concerning the admission of bishops into their sees; which sets forth, that the manner of choosing bishops by a *conge d'elire*, being but the shadow of an election, all bishops hereafter shall be appointed by the King's letters patent only, and shall continue the exercise of their jurisdiction, during their natural life, if they behave well. One of the first patents with this clause, is that of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells; but all the rest of the bishops afterwards took out letters patent for their bishoprics with the same clause. In this the archbishop had a principle hand; for it was his judgement, that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended upon the prince; and that as he gave it, he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure: Cranmer thought the exercise of his own episcopal authority ended with the late King's life, and therefore would not act as archbishop, till he had received a new commission from King Edward. In the same statute it is declared:—"That all processes in the spiritual courts should from henceforward be carried on in the King's name, and be sealed with the King's seal, as in the other courts of common law, except the Archbishop of Canterbury's courts only in all faculties and dispensations; but all collations, presentations, or letters of orders were to pass under the bishop's proper seals as formerly."—By this law, causes concerning wills and marriages were to be tried in the King's name; however this was repealed in the next reign. Lastly, the parliament gave the King all the lands for maintenance of chauntries, not possessed by his father; all legacies given for obits, anniversaries, lamps in churches; together with all guild lands which any fraternity enjoyed on the same account: The money was to be converted to the maintenance of grammar schools; but the hungry courtiers shared it among themselves. The convocation that sat with the

parliament did little; the majority being on the the side of popery, the Archbishop was afraid of venturing any thing of importance amongst them.

The reformation in Germany lying under great discouragements, by the victorious arms of Charles V. who had taken, this year, the Duke of Saxony prisoner, and dispossessed him of his electorate; several of the foreign reformers, who had taken sanctuary in those parts, were forced to seek it elsewhere. Among these, Peter Martyr was invited by the Archbishop, in the King's name, into England, and had the divinity chair given him at Oxford; Bucer had the same at Cambridge; Ochinus and Fagius, two other learned foreigners, had either pensions or canonries assigned them, with a dispensation of residence, and did good service in the universities; but Fagius soon after died.

The common people were much divided in their opinions about religion; some being zealous for the popish rites, and others no less averse to them. The country-people were very tenacious of their old shews, as processions, wakes, &c. while others looked upon them as heathenish rites. This was so effectually represented to the council by Cranmer, that a proclamation was issued, forbidding the continuance of them: and for putting an end to all contests about images that had been abused to superstition, an order was published, that all images should be taken out of churches, and the Bishops were commanded to execute it in their several dioceses. Thus the churches were dismantled of those pictures and statutes, which had, for a succession of ages, been the objects of the people's adoration.

The clergy were no less divided than the laity, the pulpits clashing one against the other, and tending to stir up sedition and rebellion. The King, therefore, after the example of his father, and by advice of his council, issued a proclamation, in the second year of his reign, to prohibit all preaching throughout his dominions. At the same time a committee of divines was appointed to examine and reform the offices of the church. They began with the sacrament of the eucharist, in which they made but little alteration, leaving the office of the mass as it stood, only

adding so much as changed it into a communion in both kinds. Auricular confession was left indifferent. The priest, having received the sacrament himself, was to turn to the people and read the exhortation; then followed a denunciation, requiring such as had not repented, to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them, as he did into Judas. After a little pause, to see if any would withdraw, followed a confession of sins and absolution, the same now in use; after which the sacrament was administered in both kinds, without elevation. This office was published, with a proclamation, declaring his Majesty's intentions to proceed to a farther reformation, and willing his subjects not to run before his direction, assuring them of his earnest zeal in this affair, and hoping they would quietly tarry for it.

In reforming the other offices, they examined and compared the Romish missals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln; and out of them composed the morning and evening service,* almost in the same form it stands at present, only there was no confession or absolution. It would have obtained many objections if the committee had thrown aside the mass-book entirely, and composed an uniform service in the language of scripture, without any regard to the church of Rome; but this they were not aware of, or the times would not bear it. From the same materials they compiled a litany, consisting of many short petitions, interrupted by suffrages; it is the same with that which is now used, except the petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, which, in the review of the liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's time, was struck out.

We have no certain account of the use of any liturgies in the first ages of the church; those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria, being manifestly spurious. It is not till the latter end of the fourth century that they are first mentioned, and then it was left to the care of every Bishop to draw up a form of prayer for his own church. In St. Austin's time they began to consult about an agreement of prayers, that none should be used without common advice, but still there was no uniformity. Nay, in the darkest times of popery, there was a vast variety of forms.

in different sees. But our reformers split upon this rock, sacrificing the peace of the church to a mistaken necessity of an exact uniformity of doctrine and worship, in which it was impossible for all men to agree. Had they drawn up divers forms, or left a discretionary latitude for tender consciences all men would have been easy, and the church more firmly united than ever.

The like is to be observed as to rites and ceremonies. In the Church of Rome there was a great variety. Every religious order had their peculiar rites, with the saints' days that belonged to their order, and services for them. But our reformers thought proper to insist upon an exact uniformity of habits and ceremonies for all the clergy, though they knew many of them were exceptionable, having been abused to idolatry, and were a yoke which some of the most resolved protestants could not bear. Nay, so great a stress was laid upon the square cap and surplice, that, rather than dispense with the use of them, the Bishops were content to part with their best friends, and to expose the reformation itself to the most imminent danger. If there must be habits and ceremony for decency and order, why did they not appoint new ones, rather than retain the old, which had been idolized by the papists to such a degree, as to be thought to have a magical virtue or sacramental efficacy? or, if they disclaimed this, why did they not speak out, and omit the consecration of them.

The council had it some time under consideration, whether those vestments in which the priests used to officiate, should be continued? It was objected against them, by some who had been confessors for the protestant religion, and others, that the habits were parts of the train of the mass; that the people had such a superstitious opinion of them, as to think they gave an efficacy to their prayers, and that divine service said without this apparel was insignificant; whereas at best, they were inventions of popery, and ought to be destroyed with that idolatrous religion. But it was said, that white was the colour of the priests' garments in the Mosaical dispensation; and that it was a natural expression of the purity and decency which became priests. That they ought to depart no further from the Church of Rome, than she had departed from the practice of the

Primitive Church. But were these the habits of the primitive clergy, before the rise of the papacy? Yet, upon these slender reasons, the garments were continued, which soon after divided the reformers among themselves, and gave rise to the two parties of conformists and nonconformists; Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley being at the head of the former, and Bishops Hooper, and Rogers, with the foreign divines, being patrons of the latter.

Parliament met, when the act confirming the new liturgy passed both houses. It enacted:—"That all divine offices should be performed according to it; and that such of the clergy as refused to do it, or officiated in any other manner, should, upon the first conviction, suffer six months imprisonment, and forfeit a year's profits of their benefices; for the second offence to forfeit all their church preferments, and suffer a year's imprisonment; and for the third offence, to suffer imprisonment for life. Such as wrote or printed against the book, were to be fined ten pounds for the first offence, twenty pounds for the second, and to forfeit all their goods, and to be imprisoned for life, for the third."—It ought to be observed, that this service-book was not laid before the convocation, or any representative body of the clergy: and whereas it is said to be done by one uniform agreement, it is certain, that four of the Bishops, employed in drawing it up, protested against it. But if the liturgy had been more perfect than it was, the penalties by which it was imposed were severe and unchristian, contrary to scripture and primitive antiquity.

As soon as the act commenced, the council appointed visitors to see that the new liturgy was received all over England. Bonner, who resolved to comply in every thing, sent to the Dean and Residentiary of St. Paul's, to use it; and all the clergy were so pliable, that the visitors returned no complaints; only that the Lady Mary continued to have mass said in her own house, which upon the intercession of the Emperor, was indulged her for a time. Gardiner remained still a prisoner in the Tower, for refusing to submit to the council's supremacy while the King was under age; and for some other complaints against him. His imprisonment was certainly illegal; it was unjustifi-

able to keep a man in prison two years upon a bare complaint ; and then, without producing any evidence in support of the charge, to sift him by articles and interrogatories. This carried too much the face of an inquisition ; but the King being in the Pope's room there were some things gathered from the canon law, and from the proceedings *ex officio*, that rather excused than justified these hard measures. When the council sent secretary Petre to the Bishop, to know whether he would subscribe to the use of the service book, he consented with some exceptions, which not being admitted, he was threatened with deprivation.

But the new liturgy did not sit well on the minds of the country people, who were for going on in their old way of wakes, processions, church ales, &c. These, being encouraged by the old monks and friars, rose up in arms in several counties, but were soon dispersed. The most formidable insurrections were in Devonshire and Norfolk. In Devonshire they were ten thousand strong, and sent the following articles or 'demands to the King. 1. That the six articles should be restored. 2. That mass should be said in Latin. 3. That the host should be elevated and adored. 4. That the sacrament should be given but in one kind. 5. That images should be set up in churches. 6. That the souls in purgatory should be prayed for. 7. That the Bible should be called in, and prohibited. 8. That the new service book should be laid aside, and the old religion restored. An answer was sent from Court to these demands, which did not appease the enraged multitude, whom the priests enflamed with all the artifice they could devise, carrying the host about the camp, that all might see and adore it. They besieged the city of Exeter, and reduced it to the last extremity ; the inhabitants defending it with uncommon bravery, till they were relieved by Lord Russel, who with a very small force defeated the rebels. The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Ket a tanner, who assumed to himself the power of judicature under an old oak, called from thence the oak of reformation. He did not pretend much of religion, but to place new counsellors about the King, in order to suppress the greatness of the gentry, and advance the privileges of the commons. The rebels were

twenty thousand strong ; but the Earl of Warwick, with six thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, quickly dispersed them. Several of the leaders of both rebellions were executed, and Ket was hanged in chains.

The hardships the reformers underwent in the late reign from the six articles, should have made them tender of the lives of those who differed from the present standard. Cranmer himself had been a Papist, a Lutheran, and was now a Sacramentarian ; and in every change guilty of inexcusable severities : while he was a Lutheran, he consented to the burning of Lambert and Anne Askew, for those very doctrines for which he himself afterwards suffered. He bore hard upon the Papists, stretching the law to keep their most active leaders in prison ; and this year he imbrued his hands in the blood of a poor frantic woman, Joan Bocher, more fit for bedlam than a stake ; which was owing not to any cruelty in the Archbishop's temper, but to those miserable, persecuting principles by which he was governed. Among others who fled out of Germany into England, from the rustic war, there were some that went by the name of Anabaptists, who, besides the principle of adult baptism, held several wild notions about the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the person of Christ. Complaint being made of them to the council, a commission was ordered to six of the Bishops, and some other divines, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer, whom they were to endeavour to reclaim, and after penance to give them absolution ; but if they continued obstinate, they were to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them over to the secular arm. This was little better than a protestant inquisition. People generally thought, all the statutes for burning heretics had been repealed ; but it was now said, that heretics were to be burnt by the common law of England ; and that the statutes were only for directing the manner of conviction ; so that repealing them did not take away that, which was grounded upon a writ at common law. Several tradesmen who were brought before the commissioners abjured ; but Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, obstinately maintained, that Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose

flesh being sinful, he could not partake of it; but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her. These were her words: a scholastic nicety, not capable of doing much mischief, and far from deserving so severe a punishment! The poor woman could not reconcile the spotless purity of Christ's human nature, with his receiving flesh from a sinful creature; and for this she is declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt. The compassionate young King not being able to prevail with himself to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer with his superior learning was employed to persuade him; he argued from the practice of the Jewish church in stoning blasphemers, and rather silenced his highness than satisfied him. For when at last he yielded to the Archbishop's importunity, he told him with tears in his eyes, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he must answer for it to God. This struck the Archbishop with surprize, yet he suffered the sentence to be executed.

Nor did his grace renounce his burning principles as long as he continued in power; for about two years after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying, that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God; and refusing to abjure, was condemned and burnt in Smithfield. He was a man of a strict and virtuous life, and very devout; he suffered with great constancy, kissing the stake and faggots that were to burn him. No part of Cranmer's life exposed him more than this. It was now said by the papists, they saw men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy, by the confession of the reformers themselves. In all the books published in Queen Mary's days justifying her severities against protestants, these instances were constantly produced; and when Cranmer himself was brought to the stake, they called it a just retaliation. But neither arguments, nor sufferings, could convince the divines of this age, of the absurdity and wickedness of putting men to death, for the sake of conscience.

Bonner, being accused of remissness in not settling the new service book throughout his diocese, and being

suspected of disaffection to the government, was enjoined to declare publicly in a sermon at Paul's Cross, his belief of the King's authority while under age, and his approbation of the service book, with some other articles; which he not performing to the council's satisfaction, was cited before the court of delegates, and after several hearings, in which he behaved with great arrogance, sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him. It was thought hard to proceed to such extremities with a man for a mere omission; Bonner, pleading, that he forgot the article of the King's authority in his sermon; and it was yet harder, to add imprisonment to his deprivation; but he lived to take a severe revenge upon his judges in the next reign. The vacant see was filled up with Dr. Ridley, who was declared Bishop of London and Westminster, the two dioceses being united in him; but his consecration was deferred to the next year.

The parliament that met the 14th of November, revived the act of the late King, empowering his Majesty to reform the canon law. And persons were appointed who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, which not being contrary to the statute law, should be published by the King's warrant under the great seal, and have the force of laws in the ecclesiastical courts.

This design was formed, and very far advanced in Henry the Eighth's time, but the troubles that attended the last part of his reign, prevented the finishing it. It was now resumed, and finished; being digested under fifty-one titles, but before it received the royal confirmation, the King died; nor was it ever revived in the succeeding reigns. By this book, Crammer seems to have relaxed his persecuting principles; for though under the third title of judgments for heresy, he lays a very heavy load upon the obstinate heretic, as that he shall be declared infamous; incapable of public trust; or of being witness in any court; or of having power to make a will; or of having the benefit of the law; yet there is no mention of capital proceedings.

Another remarkable act passed this season, which was for ordaining ministers. But there was no mention again of a

convocation or synod of divines; nor do the parliament reserve to themselves a right of judgment, but intrust every thing absolutely with the crown. The committee soon finished their ordinal, which is almost the same with that now in use. They take no notice in their book of the lower orders in the Church of Rome, but confine themselves to bishops, priests, and deacons; and here it is observable, that the form of ordaining a priest and a bishop is the same we yet use, there being no express mention in the words of ordination, whether it be for the one or the other office; though altered, in some respect, of late years, since a distinction of two orders has been so generally admitted; which was not the received doctrine of these times. The committee struck out most of the modern rites of the Church of Rome, and contented themselves with imposition of hands and prayer. The gloves, the sandals, the mitre, the ring and crosier, which had been used in consecrating Bishops, were laid aside. The anointing, the giving consecrated vestments, the delivering into the hands, vessels for consecrating the eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice for the dead and living, which had been the custom in the ordination of a priest, were also omitted. But when the Bishop ordained, he was to lay one hand on the priest's head, and with his other to give him a bible with a chalice and bread in it. The chalice and bread are now omitted; as is the pastoral staff in the consecration of a Bishop. By the rule of this ordinal, a deacon was not to be ordained before twenty-one, a priest before twenty-four, nor a bishop before he was thirty years of age.

The council went on with pressing the new liturgy upon the people, who were still inclined in many places to the old service; but to put it out of their power to continue it, it was ordered that all clergymen should deliver up to such persons whom the King should appoint, all their old antiphonals, missals, grayls, processionals, legends, pies, portuasses, &c. and to see to the observing one uniform order in the church; which the parliament confirmed, requiring further, all who had any images in their houses, and that belonged to any church, to deface them; and to dash out of their primers all prayers to the saints.

Ridley being now Bishop of London, resolved upon a visitation of his diocese. His injunctions were as usual, to enquire into the doctrines and manners of the clergy; but the council sent him a letter in his Majesty's name, to see that all altars were taken down, and to require the churchwardens of every parish to provide a table decently covered, and to place it in such part of the choir or chancel as should be most meet, so that the ministers and communicants should be separated from the rest of the people.

Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the English reformers, were unanimously of opinion, that the retaining of altars would serve only to nourish the superstitious opinion of a propitiatory mass, and would minister an occasion of offence and division among the reformed; and the next age will shew they were not mistaken in their conjectures. But some of the Bishops refused to comply with the council's order; insisting on the apostle's words to the Hebrews, "We have an altar," and rather than comply, they suffered themselves to be deprived of their bishoprics for contumacy. Preachers were sent into the country to remove the people's prejudice, which had a very good effect; and if they had taken the same methods with respect to the habits, and other relics of popery; these would hardly have kept their ground, and the reformers would have acted a more consistent and honourable part. —The sad consequences of retaining the popish garments began to appear this year: A debate, one would think of small consequence; but at this time apprehended of great importance to the reformation. The people having been bred up in a superstitious veneration for the priests' garments, being taught that they were sacred; that without them no administrations were valid; that there was a sort of virtue conveyed into them by consecration; and in a word, that they were of the same importance to a christian clergyman, as the priests' garments of old were in their ministrations; it was time to disabuse them. The debate began upon occasion of Hooper's nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester.

Hooper was a zealous, pious, and learned man. He went out of England in the latter end of Henry's reign,

and lived at Zurich, at a time when all Germany was in a flame on account of the Interim; which was a form of worship contrived to keep up the exterior face of popery. Upon this arose a great and important question among the Germans, concerning the use of things indifferent. It was said, if things were indifferent in themselves, they were lawful; and that it was the subject's duty to obey when commanded. So the old popish rites were retained, on purpose to draw the people more easily back to popery. Out of this another question arose, Whether it was lawful to obey in things indifferent, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design? To which it was replied, That the designs of legislators were not to be enquired into. This created a vast distraction in the country: Some conformed to the interim; but the major part were firm to their principles, and were turned out of their livings for disobedience. Those who complied were for the most part Lutherans. But the rest of the reformed, were for shaking off all the relics of popery, with the hazard of whatever was dear to them in the world; particularly at Zurich, where Hooper resided, they were zealous against any compliance with the use of the old rites it prescribed.

With these principles, Hooper came over to England, and applied himself to preaching and explaining the scriptures to the people; he was in the pulpit almost every day in the week, and his sermons were so popular, that all the churches were crowded where he preached. His fame soon reached the court, where Dr. Poynt and he were appointed to preach all the Lent sermons. He was also sent to preach throughout the counties of Kent and Essex, in order to reconcile the people to the reformation. At length he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester, but declined it because of the form of the oath, and the Aaronical habits. By the oath is meant the oath of supremacy, which was in this form:—"By God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghost;" which Hooper thought impious, because God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for as much as he only knows the thoughts of men. The young King being convinced the objection was just, struck out the words with his own pen. However, the scruple about the

habits was not so easily got over. The King and council were inclined to dispense with them; but Ridley and the rest of the Bishops that had worn the habits were of another mind, saying, "The thing was indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed." This had such an influence upon the council, that all Hooper's objections were afterwards heard with great prejudice. It discovered an ill spirit in the reformers, not to suffer Hooper to decline his bishopric, nor yet to dispense with those habits which he thought unlawful. Hooper was as much for the clergy's wearing a decent and distinct habit from the laity, as Ridley, but prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing English garments.

Cranmer was inclined to yield, but Ridley and Goodrick insisted on obedience to the laws, affirming—"that in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was a good argument for the continuance of those that had been long used." But this argument proved too much, because it might be used for the retaining many other rites and ceremonies of popery, which had been long used in the church, and were now abolished by these reformers themselves. However Hooper, not willing to rely upon his own judgment, wrote to Bucer and to Peter Martyr, who gave their opinions against the habits, as inventions of antichrist, and wished them removed; but were of opinion since the bishops were resolute, he might acquiesce in the use of them for a time, till they were taken away by law; and the rather because the reformation was in its infancy, and it would give occasion of triumph to the common enemy, to see the reformers at variance among themselves. The divines of Switzerland and Geneva were of the same mind, being unwilling that a clergyman of so much learning and piety, and so zealous for the reformation as Hooper was, should be silenced; they therefore advised him to comply for the present, that he might be the more capable by his authority and influence in the church, to get them laid aside. But these reasons not satisfying Hooper, he persisted in his refusal for above nine months.

The governing prelates being provoked at his stiffness, resolved not to suffer such a precedent of disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws, to go unpunished. Hooper must

be a Bishop, and must be consecrated in the manner others had been, and wear the habits the law appointed; and to force him to comply, he was served with an order of council, first to silence him, and then to confine him to his house. The doctor thought this usage very severe: To miss his promotion was no disappointment, but to be persecuted about cloaths, by men of the same faith with himself, and to lose his liberty because he would not be a Bishop and in the fashion, this was possibly more than he well understood. After some time Hooper was committed to the custody of Cranmer, who not being able to bring him to conformity, complained to the council, and they ordered him into the Fleet, where he was confined some months, to the reproach of the reformers. At length he laid his case before the Earl of Warwick, who by the King's own motion, wrote to the Archbishop to dispense with the habits at his consecration: But Cranmer alledged the danger of a *præmunire*; whereupon a letter was sent from the King and council to the Archbishop, and other Bishops to be concerned in the consecration, warranting them to dispense with the garments, and discharging them of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, they might incur any manner of way, by omitting the same: But though this letter was dated August the fifth, yet such was the reluctance of Cranmer and Ridley, that Hooper was not consecrated till the March following; in which time the matter was in some sort compromised; Hooper consenting to be robed in his habits at his consecration, and once at court; but to be dispensed with at other times. Accordingly being appointed to preach before the King, he came forth like a new player on the stage: His upper garment was a long scarlet chymère down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders, and a four square cap upon his head; but he took it patiently for the profit of the church. After this, Hooper retired to his diocese, and preached sometimes two or three times a day, to crouds of people that hungered for the word of life: He was impartial and zealous in every branch of his episcopal character, even beyond his strength, and was himself a pattern, of what he taught to others.

In the King's letter to the Archbishop, Hooper is said to be a divine of great knowledge, and deep judgment, both in the scriptures and profane learning; as also, a person of ready utterance, and of an honest life. But all these qualifications must be buried in a prison, at a time when there was a famine of the word, rather than the above-mentioned uniformity in dress be dispensed with. Most of the reforming clergy were with Hooper in this controversy. Several who had submitted to the habits in the late reign, laid them aside in this; as Latimer, Coverdale, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and others, who laid down their lives for the protestant faith. In some ordinations Cranmer and Ridley dispensed with the habits. If they had not done so on some occasions, there would not have been clergymen to support the reformation. Burnet says, they saw their error, and designed to procure an act to abolish the popish garments; but whether this was so or not, it is certain that in the next reign they repented their conduct; for when Ridley was in prison, he wrote a letter to Hooper, in which he desires a mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. And when he and Cranmer came to be degraded, they smiled at the ridiculous attire in which they were clothed, and declared they had long since laid aside all regards to that pageantry.

The behaviour of the Bishops at this period, was the more extraordinary, as latitude was allowed to foreign protestants to worship God after the manner of their country, without any regard to the popish vestments: For this year a church of German refugees was established at St. Austin's in London, and erected into a corporation, under the direction of John a Lasco, superintendant of all the foreign churches in London, with whom were joined four other ministers; and as a mark of favour, three hundred and eighty of the congregation were made denizens of England. He was a Polander of noble birth; and a man very famous for learning, and for integrity of life and manners. He was in high esteem with the great Erasmus, who says, that he, though an old man, had profited much by his conversation. But he did not please the ruling prelates, because he took part with Hooper, and wrote against the popish garments, and for the posture of sitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's supper.

Upon the translation of Ridley to the see of London, Dr. Poynt was declared Bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale coadjutor to Veysey Bishop of Exeter. The see of Winchester had been two years as good as vacant, by the long imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been confined all this time without being brought to a trial: The Bishop justly complained of this to the council, who thereupon ordered that he should be proceeded against for contempt. It was objected to him, that he refused to preach concerning the King's power while under age; that he had been negligent in obeying the King's injunctions, and was so obstinate that he would not ask the King's mercy. It was the declared opinion of the popish clergy at this time, that the King's laws were to be obeyed, but not the orders of his council; and therefore that all things should remain as the late King left them, till the present King came of age. This the rebels in Devon pleaded, as well as the lady Mary and others. For the same opinion, Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, appealing to the King when at age; and so his process ended, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary released him. Nothing can be said in vindication of this severity but that he and Bonner had taken out commissions, with the rest of the Bishops, to hold their bishoprics only during the King's pleasure; which gave the regents a right to displace them whenever they pleased. Poynt was translated from Rochester to Winchester; Story was made Bishop of Rochester; and Veysey resigning, Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter in his room: So that now the bench of Bishops had a majority for the reformation.

It was therefore resolved in council to reform the doctrine of the church. Cranmer and Ridley were appointed to this work, who framed forty-two articles upon the chief points of the Christian doctrine; copies of which were sent to the other Bishops and learned divines, for their corrections and amendments; after which the Archbishop reviewed them a second time, and presented them to the council, where they received the royal sanction. This was another high act of the supremacy; the articles not being brought into parliament, or agreed upon in convocation, as they

ought to have been, and as the title seems to express. When this was afterwards objected to Crammer in the next reign as a fraud, he owned the charge, but said, he was ignorant of the title, and complained of it to the council, who told him, the book was so entitled, because it was published in the time of the convocation; which was no better than a mean evasion. These articles are for substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the number of thirty-nine, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. The controverted clause of the twentieth article, that the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, is not in King Edward's articles; nor does it appear how it came into Elizabeth's. It is evident by the title that they were designed as articles of *truth*, and not of *peace*, as some have pretended, who subscribed them rather as a compromise, not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than as a declaration that they believed them. This was a notion the imposers never thought of, nor does there appear any reason for the conceit. So that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate. With the book of articles was printed a short catechism, with a preface prefixed in the King's name. It is dated May 7th, about seven weeks before the King's death.

The next work the reformers were employed in, was a second correction of the *Common Prayer*. Some things they added, and others that had been retained through the necessity of the times, were struck out. The most considerable amendments were these. The daily service opened with a short confession of sins, and of absolution to such as should repent. The communion began with a rehearsal of the ten commandments, the congregation being on their knees; and a pause was made between the rehearsal of every commandment, for the people's devotions. A rubric was also added, concerning the posture of kneeling, which declares that there was no adoration intended thereby to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry; nor did they think the very flesh and blood of Christ there present. This clause was struck out by Queen Elizabeth, to give a latitude to Papists and Lutherans; but was inserted again at the restoration of Charles the

second at the request of the Puritans. Besides these amendments, sundry old rites and ceremonies, retained in the former book, were discontinued; and the whole liturgy was in a manner reduced to the form in which it appears at present, excepting some small variations that have since been made, for clearing ambiguities.

When the parliament met, it was brought into the house, with a form of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons; both which passed the houses without any considerable opposition. The new service book was to take place in all churches after the feast of All Saints, under the same penalties that had been enacted to enforce the former book three years before. By another act of this session the marriages of the clergy, if performed according to the service book, were declared good and valid, and their children inheritable according to law. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, were both deprived this year, with Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, whose bishopric was designed to be divided into two; but the act never took place.

One of the last things the King set his hand to, was a royal visitation, to examine what plate, jewels, and other furniture, remained in the churches. The visitors were to leave in every church, one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion table and for surplices, but to bring the best of the church-furniture into the King's treasury; and to sell the linen copes, altar cloths, &c. and distribute the money to the poor. Some have called this by the name of sacrilege, and it was really no better. But it ought to be remembered, the young King was now languishing under a consumption, and drawing near his end.

It must however be confessed, that in the course of this, as well as the last reign, there was a very great alienation of church property. The chauntry lands were sold among the laity, some of whom held five or six prebendaries or canonries, while the clergy themselves were in want. The Bishops were too easy in parting with the lands and manors belonging to their bishoprics, and the courtiers were too greedy in grasping at every thing they could lay their hands on. If the revenues

of the church had been abused to superstition, they might have been converted to other religious uses; or if too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom was in the hands of the church, they should first have made an ample provision for the maintenance of the clergy, and the endowment of smaller livings, before they had enriched their friends and families.

Nor were the lives of many who were zealous for the reformation, free from scandal. The courtiers and great men indulged themselves in a dissolute and licentious life; and the clergy were not without their blemishes. Some who embraced the reformation were far from adorning their profession, which disposed the people to return to their old superstitions. Nevertheless there were many great and shining lights among them, who were an example to their flocks; but their numbers were small, in comparison to those who lived otherwise.

We have now seen the length of King Edward's reformation. It was an adventurous undertaking for a few bishops and privy counsellors, to change the religion of a nation, only by the advantage of the supremacy of a minor, without the consent of the people in parliament or convocation, and under the eye of a presumptive heir, who was a declared enemy of all their proceedings; as was the case in the former part of this reign. We have taken notice of the mistaken principles of the reformers, in making use of the civil power to force men to conformity; and of their stretching the laws to reach those whom they could not fairly come at any other way. But notwithstanding these and some other mistakes, they were great and good men, and *valiant for the truth*; as appears by their afterwards sealing it with their blood. They made as quick advances perhaps in restoring religion to its primitive simplicity, as the circumstances of the times would admit; and it is evident they designed to go farther, and not make this, the last standard of reformation. Indeed Elizabeth thought her brother had gone too far, by stripping religion of too many ornaments; and therefore when she came to the crown, was hardly persuaded to restore it to the condition in which he left it. James the first, Charles the first Archbishop Laud, and all their admirers, instead of re-

moving further from the superstitious pomps of the Church of Rome, have been for returning back to them, and have appealed to the settlement of Queen Elizabeth, as a perfect standard.

Martin Bucer, a German divine, and professor of divinity in Cambridge, a person in high esteem with the young King, drew up a plan, and presented it to his Majesty, in which he treats largely of ecclesiastical discipline. The King having read it, set himself to write a general discourse on reformation, but did not live to finish it. Bucer proposed, that there might be a strict discipline, to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament; and that the old popish habits might be laid aside. He did not like the half office of communion, or second service, to be said at the altar, when there was no sacrament. He approved not of godfathers answering in the child's name, so well as in their own. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's day; and that there might be many fastings, but was against the observation of Lent. He would have the pastoral function restored to what it ought to be; that Bishops, throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments. He advises that coadjutors might be given to some, and a council of presbyters appointed for them all. He would have rural Bishops set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should gather their clergy often together, and inspect them closely; and that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, when a secular man in the King's name, should be appointed to observe their proceedings.

Cranmer was of the same mind. He disliked the present way of governing the church, by convocations, as they are now formed; in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals, have an interest far superior in number, to those elected to represent the clergy. These cannot pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution.—They have no foundation in scripture, nor any warrant from the first ages of the church; but arose from the model set forth by Charles the great, and formed, according to the *feudal* law, by which a right of giving subsidies, was vested in all, who were possessed of such tenures, as qualified them to contribute towards the support of the

state. Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger, who told the exiles at Frankfort,—“That the Archbishop had drawn up a book of prayers a hundred times more perfect, than that which was then in being; but the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, and other enemies.” The King was of the same sentiments; but his untimely death, which happened in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, put an end to all his noble designs for perfecting the reformation. He was indeed an incomparable prince, of most promising expectations; and in the judgment of the most impartial persons, the phoenix of his age. It was more than whispered, that he was poisoned. But it is very surprising that a protestant divine, Heylin, in his History of the Reformation should say,—“That he was ill principled; that his reign was unfortunate; and that his death was not an infelicity to the church;”—only because he was apprehensive he would have reduced the hierarchy, to a more primitive standard. With good King Edward died all further advances of the reformation; the alterations that were made afterwards by Queen Elizabeth, hardly came up to his standard.



REIGN OF MARY.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed Queen.—Queen Mary enters London.—Her declaration.—Reformers imprisoned.—Popery restored.—Wyat's Rebellion.—The Clergy ejected.—The Queen's Marriage.—The Kingdom reconciled to Rome.—Protestants burnt.—Bonner's cruelty.—Bradford, Philpot, and Cranmer burnt.—Sufferings of Protestants.—Many goes into exile.—Rise of the Puritans. ---Troubles at Frankfort.----Sufferings of the Princess Elizabeth.—Calamities of the Nation.—The Queen's Death.—Her Character.

IT will appear in the course of this reign, that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of men, lodged with a single person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true religion: for if Henry the eighth and his son Edward the sixth reformed some abuses by their supremacy, against a majority of the people, Queen Mary made use of the same power, to turn things back into their old channel, till she had restored the grossest and most idolatrous part of popery. This was begun by proclamations and orders of council, till her Majesty could procure a parliament disposed to repeal King Edward's laws, which she quickly found means to accomplish. It is strange indeed, that when there were but seven or eight peers that opposed the reformation under Edward, the same house of lords should almost all turn papists in the reign of Mary; but as to the commons it is less wonderful, because they are changeable, and the Court took care to new model the returning officers in the cities and cor-

porations before the elections came on, so that scarcely one was left, who was not a Roman Catholic. Bribery and menaces were made use of in all places; and where they could not carry elections by reason of the superiority of the reformed, the sheriffs made double returns. It is sad when the religion of a nation is under such a direction! But so it will be, when it falls into the hands of a bigoted prince and ministry. Queen Mary was a sad example of the truth of this observation, whose reign was one continued scene of calamity. It is the genuine picture of popery, and should be remembered by all protestants with abhorrence; the principles of that religion being such as no man can receive, till he has abjured his senses, renounced his reason, and put off all the tender compassions of human nature.

Edward the sixth being far gone in a consumption, from a concern for preserving the reformation, was persuaded to set aside the succession of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Queen of Scots, the first and last being papists, and Elizabeth's blood being tainted by act of parliament; and to settle the crown, by will, upon Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, a lady of extraordinary qualities, zealous for the reformation, and next in blood, after these princesses. One may guess the sad apprehensions the council were under for the protestant religion, when they put the King, who was a minor, and not capable by law of making a will, upon this expedient, and set their hands to the validity of it. The King being dead, Queen JANE was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and an army raised to support her title; but the princess Mary, then in Norfolk, being informed of her brother's death, sent a letter to the council, in which she claims the crown, and charges them upon their allegiance to proclaim her in the city of London, and elsewhere. The council in return, insisted upon her laying aside her claim, and submitting as a good subject to her new sovereign. But MARY, by the encouragement of her friends in the country, resolved to maintain her right; and to make her way more easy, she promised the Suffolk men, to make no alterations in religion. This gained her an

army, with which she marched towards London; but before she arrived, both the council and citizens of London declared for her: and she made her public entry without the loss of a drop of blood, four weeks after the decease of her brother.

Upon Mary's entrance into the Tower, she released Bonner, Gardiner, and others whom she called her prisoners. And her Majesty declared in council,—"That though her conscience was settled in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel others, but by the preaching of the word."—This was different from her promise to the Suffolk men: she assured them, that religion should be left upon the same footing as she found it at the death of King Edward, but now she insinuates, that the old religion is to be restored, though without compulsion. Next day there was a tumult at St. Paul's, occasioned by Dr. Bourne, one of the canons of that church, preaching against the late reformation: he spoke in commendation of Bonner, and was proceeding to severe reflections upon the late King Edward, when the whole audience was in an uproar; some calling to pull down the preacher, others throwing stones, and one a dagger, which stuck in the pulpit. Mr. Rogers and Bradford, two popular preachers for the reformation, hazarded their lives to save the doctor's, and conveyed him in safety to a neighbouring house; notwithstanding which act of charity, they were first imprisoned, and soon afterwards burnt for heresy. To prevent the like tumults, the Queen published an inhibition forbidding all preaching without special licence; declaring further, that *she would not compel her subjects to be of her religion, till public order should be taken by common assent.* Here was another intimation of an approaching storm. And a proclamation was also published, for masters of families to oblige their apprentices and servants, to frequent their own parish churches on Sundays and holidays, and to keep them at home at other times.

The shutting up of all the protestant pulpits at once, awakened the Suffolk men, who presuming upon the Queen's engagement, sent a deputation to Court, to represent their grievances; but the Queen checked them

for their insolence : and one of their number happening to mention her promise, was put in the pillory three days together, and had his ears cut off for defamation. Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Heath, and Day were restored to their bishoprics. Some of the reformers continuing to preach after the inhibition, were taken into custody, among whom were Hooper, Coverdale, Dr. Taylor, Rogers, and several others. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, no regard being had to his active zeal in asserting the Queen's right, against the title of the Lady Jane ; but so sincerely did this good man follow the light of his conscience, when he could not but foresee the sad consequences which were likely to ensue. Coverdale being a foreigner, was ordered to keep his house till further orders. Cranmer was so silent at Lambeth, that it was thought he would have returned to the old religion ; but he was preparing a protestation against it, which taking air, he was examined, and confessing the fact, was sent to the Tower, with Bishop Latimer. Holgate, Archbishop of York, was committed to the same prison, and Horn, Dean of Durham, being summoned before the council, fled beyond the sea.

The storm gathering so thick upon the reformers, above eight hundred of them retired into foreign parts. Some fled in disguise, or went over as the servants of foreign protestants, who having come hither for shelter in King Edward's time, were now required to leave the kingdom ; among these were Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, with his congregation of Germans. But to prevent too many of the English embarking with them, an order of council was sent to all the ports, that none should be suffered to depart the kingdom without proper passports. The Roman Catholic party, from an abundant zeal for their religion, out-ran the laws, and celebrated mass in divers churches, before it was restored by lawful authority ; while the people that favoured the reformation, continued their public devotions with great seriousness and fervency, as foreseeing the storm that was coming upon them ; but the rude multitude came into the churches, insulted their ministers, and ridiculed their worship. The Court not only winked at these things, but fined Judge Hales

(who alone had refused to sign the act which transferred the crown to Jane Grey) a thousand pounds sterling, because in his circuit, he ordered the justices of Kent to conform themselves to the laws of King Edward, not yet repealed; which that gentleman laid so much to heart, that he grew melancholy, and drowned himself.

The Queen was crowned October the first, by Gardiner, attended by ten other bishops, all in their mitres, copes and crosiers; and a parliament was summoned to meet on the tenth. What methods were used to secure the elections, has been already related. On the thirty-first of October a bill was sent down to the commons, for repealing King Edward's laws about religion, which was debated six days, and at length carried. It repeals in general all the late statutes relating to religion, and enacts,—“That after the twentieth of December next, there should be no other form of divine service than what had been used in the last year of Henry the eighth.”—Severe punishments were decreed against such as should interrupt the public service, abuse the holy sacrament, or break down altars, crucifixes, or crosses. It was made felony for any number above twelve, to assemble together with an intention to alter the established religion. November the third, Archbishop Cranmer, Lady Jane, Lord Guildford, and two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their trials for high treason, in levying war against the Queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. They all confessed their indictments, but Cranmer appealed to his judges, how unwillingly he had set his hand to the exclusion of the Queen: these judgments were confirmed by parliament, after which, the Queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain being discovered, the commons sent their speaker, and twenty of their members, humbly to entreat her Majesty, not to marry a stranger; with which she was so displeased, that she dissolved the parliament.

The convocation that sat with the parliament was equally devoted to the Court. Care had been taken to secure their elections. In the collection of public acts, there are found hundred and fifty presentations to livings before the

choice of representatives; so that the lower house of convocation was of a-piece with the upper, from whence almost all the protestant Bishops were excluded by imprisonment, deprivation, or otherwise. Bonner presided as the first Bishop of the province of Canterbury; and Weston, Dean of Westminster was chosen prolocutor. On the twentieth of October it was proposed to the members, to subscribe to the doctrine of transubstantiation; which all complied with, except Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester; Philips, Dean of Rochester; Haddon, Dean of Exeter; Cheyney, Archdeacon of Hereford; Aylmer, Archdeacon of Stow; and Young, chaunter of St. David's: these disputed the point for three days, but the disputation was managed according to the fashion of the times, with reproaches and menaces on the stronger side; and the prolocutor ended it with saying, **YOU HAVE THE WORD, BUT WE HAVE THE SWORD.**

This year began with Wyat's rebellion, occasioned by a general dislike of the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain: it was a raw, unadvised attempt, and occasioned great mischief to the protestants, though religion had no share in the conspiracy. Wyat himself being a papist. This gentleman got together four thousand men, with whom he marched directly to London; but coming into Southwark, he found the bridge so well fortified, that he could not force it without cannon; so he marched about, and having crossed the Thames at Kingston, came by Charing-Cross to Ludgate next morning, in hopes the citizens would have opened their gates; but being disappointed, he yielded himself a prisoner, and was afterwards executed; as were Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guildford her husband, and others; Lady Elizabeth herself hardly escaping, Wyat upon his trial accusing her, in hopes of saving his life; upon which she was ordered into custody: but when Wyat saw that he must die, he acquitted her on the scaffold; and upon the Queen's marriage this summer, she obtained her pardon.

As soon as the nation was a little settled, her Majesty gave instructions to her bishops to visit the clergy. The injunctions were drawn up by Gardiner, and contain an angry recital of all the innovations introduced into the

church, in the reign of Edward; and a charge to the Bishops. The Bishops of York, St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deprived for being married; and the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, were deprived by the royal pleasure, as holding their bishoprics by such a patent. It was very arbitrary to turn out the married bishops, while there was a law subsisting to allow their marriages; and to deprive the other bishops without any manner of process, merely for the royal pleasure. This was acting up to the height of the supremacy, which though the Queen disclaimed as an unlawful power, yet she used it for the service of the Romish Church. The vacant bishoprics were filled with men after the Queen's own heart. The new bishops in their visitations, and particularly Bonner, executed the Queen's injunctions with rigour. The mass was celebrated in all places, and the old popish rites and ceremonies revived. There was a quick trade for images, that were to be replaced in churches. The most eminent preachers in London were under confinement; and all the married clergy throughout the kingdom deprived. Dr. Parker reckons, that of sixteen thousand clergymen, twelve thousand were turned out; which is not probable, for if we compare the diocese of Norwick, which is almost an eighth part of England, and in which there were but three hundred and thirty-five deprived, the whole number will fall short of three thousand. Some were turned out without conviction; and some were never cited, and yet ejected for not appearing. Those that quitted their wives, and did penance, were nevertheless deprived; which was grounded on the vow, that (as was pretended) they had made. Such was the deplorable condition of the reformed this summer, and such the cruelty of their adversaries.

The Queen's second parliament met April the second. The court had taken care of the elections of the new members by large promises of money from Spain. Their design was to persuade the parliament to approve of the Spanish match; which they accomplished, with this proviso, that the Queen at no should have the government of this kingdom; after which the parliament was presently dissolved. Philip arrived July twentieth, and was married to the Queen on the twenty-seventh, he being then in the twenty-seventh year of

his age, and the Queen in her thirty-eighth. He brought with him a vast mass of wealth; twenty-seven chests of bullion, every chest being above a yard long; and ninety-nine horse loads, and two cart loads of gold and silver coin.

The reformers complaining of their usage, in the late dispute held in convocation, the court resolved to give them a fresh mortification, by appointing another at Oxford, in presence of the whole University; and because Crammer, Ridley and Latimer, were the most celebrated divines of the reformation, they were by warrant from the Queen removed from the Tower to Oxford, to manage the dispute. The questions to be disputed were those relating to transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. The bishops behaved with great modesty and presence of mind; but their adversaries insulted and triumphed in a most barbarous manner. Bishop Ridley writes,—“That there were perpetual shoutings, tauntings, reproaches, noise and confusion.” Crammer and old Latimer were hissed and derided; and Ridley was borne down with noise and clamour. In April they were summoned again to St. Mary's, and required to subscribe, as having been vanquished in disputation; but they all refusing, were declared obstinate heretics, and no longer members of the catholic church.

It was designed to expose the reformers by another disputation at Cambridge; but the prisoners in London hearing of it, published a paper, declaring, that they would not dispute but in writing, except it were before the Queen and council, or before either house of parliament, because of the misrepresentation and unfair usage they had every where met with. At the same time, they printed a summary of their faith, for which they were ready to offer up their lives, and in conclusion charged the people to enter into no rebellion against the Queen, but to obey her in all points, except where her commands were contrary to the law of God. — This put an end to all farther triumphs of the popish party for the present, and was a noble testimony to the chief and distinguishing doctrines of the protestant faith. But since the reformers were not to be run down

by noise and clamour, their stedfastness must encounter the fiery trial.

The Queen's third parliament met November the eleventh. In the writs of summons, the title of supreme head of the church was omitted, though it was still by law vested in the crown. The money brought from Spain had procured a house of commons devoted to the court. The first bill passed was the repeal of Cardinal Pole's attainder, and the cardinal arrived in England two days after, in quality of the pope's legate, with a commission to receive the kingdom of England, into the bosom of the catholic church: and in his speech to the parliament invited them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see. Two days after a committee of lords and commons was appointed to draw up a supplication to the King and Queen, to intercede with the legate for a reconciliation; promising to repeal all acts made against the pope's authority. This being presented by both houses on their knees to the King and Queen, they interceded with the cardinal accordingly; who thereupon made a long speech in the house, at the close of which he enjoined them for penance, to repeal the laws abovementioned, and then in the pope's name, first granted them a full absolution, which they received on their knees, and afterwards absolved the realm from all censures.

The act of repeal was ready, it passed both houses, and received the royal assent. It enumerates and reverses all acts since the twentieth of Henry the eighth against the holy see; and then contains the following restrictions, which they pray, through the cardinal's intercession, may be established by the pope's authority. 1. "That all bishoprics, cathedrals or colleges, now established, may be confirmed for ever. 2. "That marriages within such degrees as are not contrary to the law of God, may be confirmed, and their issue legitimated. 3. "That institutions into benefices may be confirmed. 4. "That all judicial processes may be confirmed. 5. "That all the settlements of the lands of any bishoprics, monasteries, or other religious houses, may continue as they were, without any trouble from the ecclesiastical courts."

The cardinal admitted these requests, but ended with a heavy denuciation of the judgments of God upon those

who had the goods of the church in their hands, and did not restore them. And to make the clergy more easy, the statutes of Mortmain were suspended for twenty years to come. But after all, the Pope refused to confirm the restrictions, alledging, that the legate had exceeded his powers; so that the possessors of church lands had a very precarious title to their estates during this reign; and even before the reconciliation was fully concluded, the Pope published a bull, by which he excommunicated all those persons, who were in possession of the goods of the church or monasteries, and did not restore them. This alarmed the superstitious Queen, who apprehending herself near her time of child-birth, sent for her ministers of state, and surrendered up all the lands of the church that remained in the crown, to be disposed of as the Pope or his legate should think fit. But when a proposal of this kind was made to the commons in parliament, some of them boldly laid their hands upon their swords, and said, they well knew how to defend their own property. The Queen however went on with acts of devotion to the church; she repaired several old monasteries and erected new ones; she ordered a strict enquiry to be made after those who had pillaged the churches and monasteries, and had been employed in the visitations of Henry the eighth, and Edward the sixth. She commanded Bishop Bonner to erase out of the public records all that had been done against the monks; and particularly the accounts of the visitations of monasteries; which has rendered the ecclesiastical history of this time very defective.

The next act brought into the house, was for reviving the statutes of Richard the second, and Henry the fourth and fifth, for burning heretics; which passed both houses in six days, to the unspeakable joy of the popish clergy. The houses having been informed of some heretic preachers, who had prayed in their conventicles, that God would turn the Queen's heart from idolatry to the true faith, or else shorten her days; they passed an act, "That all that prayed after this manner should be adjudged traitors;" after which, the parliament was dissolved.

The kingdom being now reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the penal laws against heretics revived, a

council was held about the manner of dealing with the reformed. It is said, that Cardinal Pole was for the gentler methods of instruction and persuasion, which is somewhat doubtful; however Gardiner was certainly for rigour, imagining that a few examples of severity upon the heads of the party, would terrify the rest into a compliance. The Queen was of his mind, and commanded Gardiner, by a commission to himself and some other Bishops, to make the experiment. He began with Mr. Rogers, Mr. Cardmaker, and Bishop Hooper, who had been kept in prison eighteen months without law. These upon examination were asked, whether they would abjure their heretical opinions about the sacrament, and submit to the church as then established; which they refusing, were declared obstinate heretics, and delivered over to the secular power. Mr. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, a pardon being offered him at the stake, which he refused, though he had a wife and ten small children unprovided for. Bishop Hooper was burnt at Gloucester. He was not suffered to speak to the people; and was used so barbarously in the fire, that his legs and thighs were roasted, and one of his hands dropt off, before he expired: his last words were, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

About the same time, Mr. Saunders, another minister, was burnt at Coventry. When he came to the stake he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ; welcome everlasting life." Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, suffered next. Gardiner used him very roughly, and after condemning and degrading him, sent him to his own parsonage to be burnt; which he underwent with great courage, though he had barbarous usage in the fire, his brains being beat out with one of the halberts. Gardiner seeing himself disappointed, meddled no further, but committed the prosecution of the bloody work, to Bonner, who acting more like a cannibal than a christian, condemned without mercy all that came before him, and ordering them to be kept in the most cruel durance, till they were delivered over to the civil magistrate. He tore off the beard of Tomkins, a weaver in Shoreditch, and held his hand in the flame of a candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst. He put others in dungeons, and in the stocks, and fed them with bread and water: and

when they were brought before him, insulted over their misery in a most brutish manner.

In the months of March and April, Bishop Ferrars and ten others were brought to the stake. But these burnings were disliked by the nation, which began to be astonished at the courage and constancy of the martyrs; and to be shocked at the unrelenting severity of the Bishops, who being reproached with their cruelties, threw the odium upon the King and Queen. At the same time a petition was printed by the exiles beyond sea, and addressed to the Queen, putting her in mind,—“That the Turks tolerated Christians, and the Christians in most places tolerated Jews. That no papist had been put to death for religion in King Edward’s time. And then they beseech the nobility and common people, to intercede with her Majesty, to put a stop to this issue of blood, and at least grant her subjects the same liberty she allowed strangers, of transporting themselves into foreign parts.”—But it had no effect. Philip being informed of the artifices of the Bishops, caused his confessor Alphonsus to preach against these severities, which he did in the face of the whole court. Bonner himself pretended to be sick of them; but after some little recess he went on. And though Philip pretended to be for milder measures, yet he and the Queen signed a letter to Bonner, to quicken him in his pastoral duty; whereupon he redoubled his fury, and in the month of June condemned nine protestants at once to the stake in Essex; and the council wrote to the sheriffs, to gather the gentry together, to countenance the executions with their presence.

In the month of July, Mr. John Bradford, a most celebrated preacher in King Edward’s days, suffered martyrdom. He was an eminent Christian, and is said to have done as much service to the reformation by his letters from prison, as by his preaching in the pulpit. Endeavours were used to turn him, but to no purpose. He was brought to the stake with one John Lease, an apprentice nineteen years old; he kissed the stake and the faggots; but being forbid to speak to the people, he only prayed with his fellow-sufferer, and quietly submitted to the fire. His last words were, “Strait is the gate, and narrow the way,

that leadeth unto eternal life, and few there be that find it." From Smithfield the persecution spread all over the country: in the months of June and July eight men and one woman were burnt in Kent; and in the months of August and September twenty-five more in Suffolk, Essex, and Surry. But the greatest sacrifice to popish cruelty was yet to come. On the sixteenth of October, Bishops Ridley and Latimer, were martyred at one staked in Oxford. Latimer died presently, but Ridley was a long time in exquisite torments, his lower parts being burnt before the fire reached his body. His last words to his fellow-sufferer were, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either, assuage the fury of the flame, or enable us to abide it. Latimer replied, "Be of good comfort, for we shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust by God's grace shall never be put out." The very same day Gardiner their great persecutor, was struck with the illness of which he died; and which held him in great agonies till the twelfth of November, when he expired. He would not sit down to dinner, till he had received the news from Oxford of the burning of the two Bishops, which was not till four o'clock in the afternoon; and while he was at dinner, he was seized with the distemper that put an end to his life. When Bishop Day spoke to him of justification through the blood of Christ, he said, if you open that gap to the people then farewell all again. He confessed he had sinned with Peter, but had not repented with him. Arch-deacon Philpot was burnt on the eighteenth of December, and behaved at the stake with the courage and resolution of the primitive martyrs.

On the twenty-first of March following, Archbishop Cranmer suffered. He had been degraded by Bishops Thirlby and Bonner. Bonner insulted him in an indecent manner, but Thirlby melted into tears. After this, by much persuasion, and in hope of life, he set his hand to a paper, in which he renounced the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and acknowledged his belief of the corporal presence, the Pope's supremacy, purgatory, the invocation of saints, &c. This was quickly published to the world, with great triumph among the papists, and grief to the reformers. But the unmerciful Queen was still resolved to have his

life, and accordingly sent down a writ for his execution; she could never forgive the share he had in her mother's divorce, and in driving the Pope's authority out of England. Cranmer suspecting the design, before the warrant came down, prepared a true confession of his faith, which he carried in his bosom to St. Mary's church, on the day of his martyrdom, where he was raised on an eminence, that he might be seen by the people, and hear his own funeral sermon. Never was there a more awful and melancholy spectacle; an Archbishop, once the second man in the kingdom, now clothed with rags, and a gazing stock to the world! Cole the preacher magnified his conversion, as the immediate hand of God, and assured him of a great many masses to be said for his soul. After sermon he desired Cranmer to declare his own faith, which he did with tears, professing his belief in the holy scriptures, and the apostles' creed; and then came to that, which he said troubled his conscience more than any thing he had done in his life, and that was, his subscribing the above-mentioned paper, out of fear of death and love of life; and therefore when he came to the fire he was resolved, that the hand which signed it, should burn first. The assembly was all in confusion at this disappointment; and the broken-hearted Archbishop shedding abundance of tears, was led immediately to the stake; and being tied to it, he stretched out his right hand to the flame, never moving it but once to wipe his face, till it dropt off. He often cried out that unworthy hand! His last words were, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

It is not within the compass of my design to write a martyrology of these times; nor to follow Bishop Bonner and his brethren, through the rivers of protestant blood which they shed. The whole year 1556 was one continued persecution, in which popery triumphed in all its false and bloody colours. Bonner not content to burn heretics singly, sent them by companies to the stake. Such as were suspected of heresy, were examined upon the articles of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. and the mass; and if they did not make satisfactory answers, they were without any farther proofs condemned to the flames. Women were not spared, nor infants in the womb. In

the isle of Guernsey a woman with child, sentenced to be burnt, was delivered in the flames, and the infant being taken from her, was ordered by the magistrates to be thrown back into the fire. At length the butcherly work growing too heavy for the hands employed in it, the Queen erected an extraordinary tribunal for trying of heresy, like the Spanish inquisition; and issued out a proclamation, that such as received heretical books, should immediately be put to death by martial law. She forbade prayers to be made for the sufferers, or even to say, God bless them. So far did her fiery zeal transport her. Upon the whole, the number of those who suffered death for the reformed religion in this reign, were no less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons of whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, labourers and servants, fifty-five women, and four children. Besides these, there were fifty-four more under prosecution, seven of whom were whipt, and sixteen perished in prison; the rest who were making themselves ready for execution, were delivered by the merciful interposition of Divine Providence in the Queen's death. I might add, that these merciless papists carried their fury against the reformed beyond the grave; for they ordered the bones of Fagius and Bucer, to be dug out of their graves, and having ridiculously cited them by their commissioners to appear, and give an account of their faith, they caused them to be burnt for non-appearance: Is it possible after such a relation of things, for any protestant to be in love with high commissions, and laws to deprive men of their lives, liberties and estates, for matters of conscience? And yet these very reformers, when the power returned into their hand, were too much inclined to such engines of cruelty.

The controversy about predestination and free-will appeared first among the reformers at this time. Some who were in the King's Bench prison for the profession of the gospel, denied the doctrines of absolute predestination and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but warm for their opinions, and unquiet in their behaviour. Mr. Bradford had frequent conferences with them, and gained over some to his own persuasion. Bradford was apprehensive that they would do a great deal of

mischief in the church, and there in concert with Bishops Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, wrote to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to take some cognizance of the matter, and consult together about a remedy. Upon this occasion, Ridley drew up a letter of God's election and predestination, and Bradford wrote another upon the same subject. But this contention could not be laid asleep for some time, notwithstanding their common sufferings in the cause of religion. They wrote one against another in prison, and dispersed their writings abroad in the world. These unhappy divisions gave great advantage to the papists, who took occasion from hence, to scoff at the professors of the gospel, as disagreeing among themselves. They blazed abroad their infirmities, and said, They were suffering for they knew not what. Besides these, it seems there were some few in prison for the gospel that were Arians, and disbelieved the divinity of Christ. Two of them lay in the King's Bench, and raised such quarrelsome disputes, that the marshal was forced to separate them: and in the year 1556, the noise of their contentions reached the ears of the council, who sent Dr. Martin to examine into the affair. I mention these disputes, to shew the frailty and corruption of human nature, even under severe sufferings, and to point out the first beginnings of those debates, which afterwards occasioned unspeakable mischiefs to the church; for though the Pelagian doctrine was espoused but by a very few of the English reformers, and was buried in that prison where it began for almost fifty years, it revived in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, under the name of Arminianism, and within the compass of a few years, supplanted the received doctrine of the reformation.

Many of the clergy who had been zealous professors of the gospel under Edward the Sixth, through fear of death recanted and subscribed; some out of weakness, who as soon as the danger was over, revoked their subscriptions, and openly confessed their fall: of this sort were Bishops Scory and Barlow, the famous Mr. Jewel, and others. Among the common people, some went to mass to preserve their lives, and yet frequented the assemblies of the

protestants, holding it not unlawful to be present with their bodies at the service of the mass, as long as their spirits did not consent. Bradford and others wrote with great warmth against these temporizers, and advised their brethren not to consort with them. They also published a treatise upon this argument, entitled, *The mischief and hurt of the mass*; and recommended the reading it, to all who had defiled themselves with that idolatrous service.

But though many complied with the times, and some concealed themselves, shifting from one place to another; others resolved with the hazard of their lives to join together and worship God, according to the service book of King Edward. There were several of these congregations which met in the night, and in secret places. Great numbers in Suffolk and Essex, constantly frequented these private assemblies, and came not at all to the public service; but the most considerable congregation was in and about London. It was formed soon after Mary's accession, and consisted of above two hundred members; and they had divers preachers; they met sometimes about Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, sometimes in Thames-street, and sometimes on board of ships, when they had a master for their purpose: sometimes they assembled in the villages near London, to cover themselves from the Bishop's officers and spies; and especially at Islington; but here, by the treachery of a false brother, the congregation was at length discovered and broken. Mr. Rough their minister, and Mr. Simpson their deacon, being apprehended and burnt, with many others. Indeed the whole church was in the utmost danger; for Simpson the deacon used to carry the book wherein the names of the congregation were contained, to their private assemblies, he happened that day, through the good providence of God, to leave it with Mrs. Rough the minister's wife. When he was in the Tower, the Recorder of London examined him strictly, and because he would neither discover the book nor the names, he was put upon a rack three times in one day. He was then sent to Bonner, who said to the spectators,—“You see what a personable man this is; and for his patience, if he was not an heretic,

I should much commend him, for he has been thrice racked in one day, and in my house has endured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience moved."—Notwithstanding this, Bonner condemned him, and ordered him first into the stocks in his coal-house, and from thence to Smithfield, where with Mr. Fox and Davenish, two others of the church taken at Islington, he ended his life in the flames.

Many escaped the fury of the persecution, by flying into foreign countries. Some went into France and Flanders, some to Geneva, and others into those parts of Germany and Switzerland, where the reformation had taken place; the magistrates receiving them with great humanity, and allowing them places for public worship. But the uncharitableness of the Lutherans on this occasion was very remarkable; they hated the exiles because they were Sacramentarians, and when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them their cities; so that they found little hospitality where Lutheranism was professed. Philip Melancthon interceded with the senate on their behalf, but the clergy were so zealous for their consubstantiation, that they irritated the magistrates every where against them. The number of the refugees are computed at above eight hundred.

The exiles were most numerous at Frankfort, where that contest and division began, which gave rise to the PURITANS, and to that separation from the Church of England which continues to this day. It will therefore be necessary to trace it from its original. Messrs. Whittingham, Williams, Sutton and Wood, with their families and friends, came to settle at the city of Frankfort; and upon application to the magistrates, were admitted to a partnership in the French church, for a place of worship; the two congregations being to meet at different hours, as they should agree, but with this proviso, that before they entered they should subscribe the French confession of faith, and not quarrel about ceremonies, to which the English agreed; and after consultation among themselves, they concluded, by universal consent of all present, not to answer aloud after the minister, nor to use the litany

and surplice; but that the service should begin with a general confession of sins, then the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, after which the minister to pray for the assistance of God's holy spirit, and so proceed to the sermon; after sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and particularly for England, at the end of which was joined the Lord's prayer, and a rehearsal of articles of belief; then the people were to sing another psalm, and the minister to dismiss them with a blessing. They took possession of their church, and having chosen a minister and deacons to serve for the present, they sent to their brethren who were dispersed, to invite them to come to Frankfort, where they might hear God's word truly preached, the sacrament rightly administered, and scripture discipline used, which in their own country could not be obtained.

The more learned clergy, and some younger divines, settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for the benefit of the libraries of those places, and of the learned conversation of the professors, as well as in hopes of some little employment in the way of printing. The congregation at Frankfort sent letters to these places, beseeching the English divines to send some of their number, whom they might choose, to take the oversight of them. In their letter they commend their new settlement, as nearer the policy and order of scripture, than the service-book of King Edward. The Strasburgh divines demurring upon the affair, the congregation at Frankfort invited Mr. Knox, Mr. Haddon, and Mr. Lever, whom they elected their ministers. At length the students of Zurich sent them word, that unless they might be assured, that they would use the same order of service concerning religion, as was set forth by King Edward, they would not come to them, for they were fully determined to admit no other. To this the Frankfort congregation replied, that they would use the service-book as far as God's word warranted it; but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, though some of them were tolerable, yet being in a strange country, they could not submit to use them; and indeed they thought it better that they should never be practised.

But this not giving satisfaction, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Grindol came with a letter from the learned men of Strasburgh, in which they exhort them in most pressing language to a full conformity; they say, they make no question but the magistrates of Frankfort will consent to the use of the English service, and therefore they cannot doubt of the congregation's ready endeavours to reduce their church to the exact pattern of King Edward's book, as far as can possibly be obtained. Things being in this unsettled posture at Frankfort; King Edward's book being used in part, but not wholly; and there being no prospect of an accommodation with their brethren at Strasburgh, they resolved to ask the advice of Calvin; who having perused the English liturgy, took notice,—“That there were many tolerable weaknesses in it, which because at first they could not be amended, were to be suffered; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ, to enterprize farther and to set up something more filed from rust, and purer. If religion had flourished till this day in England, many of these things should have been corrected. But since the reformation is overthrown, and a church is to be set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish what order is most for edification, I cannot tell what they mean, who are so fond of the popish dregs.”—Upon this letter, the Frankfort congregation agreed not to submit to the Strasburgh divines, but to make use of so much of the service-book as they had already done, till the end of April; and if any new contention arose among them in the mean time, the matter was to be referred to Calvin, Martyr, Bullinger, &c.

However Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to Edward the Sixth, a man of a high spirit, and of great credit with his countrymen, coming to Frankfort with some of his friends, broke through the agreement, and interrupted the public service, by answering aloud after the minister; and the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent of the congregation, ascended the pulpit and read the whole litany. Upon this Mr. Knox their minister taxed the authors of this disorder, in his sermon, with

a breach of their agreement; and further affirmed, that some things in the service book were superstitions and impure. The zealous Dr. Cox reproved him for censoriousness; and being admitted with his company to vote in the congregation, got the majority to forbid Mr. Knox to preach any more. But Knox's friends applied to the magistrate, who commanded them to unite with the French church both in discipline and ceremonies, according to their agreement. Dr. Cox and his party finding Knox's interest among the magistrates too strong, had recourse to an unchristian method to get rid of him. This divine some years before when he was in England, had published an English book, called *An Admonition to Christians*; in which he had said, that the emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than Nero. For which, and some other expressions in the book, these gentlemen accused him of high treason against the emperor. The senate being tender of the emperor's honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in a controversy of this nature, desired Mr. Knox, in a respectful manner, to depart the city.

After this, Dr. Cox's party being strengthened by the arrival of several English divines from other places, petitioned the magistrates for the free use of King Edward's service book, which they were pleased to allow. Thus the old congregation was broke up by Dr. Cox and his friends, who now carried all before them. They chose new church-officers, taking no notice of the old ones, and set up the service book without interruption. Knox's adherents would have left the matter to the arbitration of divines, which the others refused, and wrote to Mr. Calvin to countenance their proceedings, which that great divine declined; and after a modest excuse for refusing to intermeddle in their affairs, told them that, in his opinion they were too much addicted to the English ceremonies; nor could he see to what purpose it was, to burden the church with such hurtful and offensive things, when there was liberty to have a simple and more pure order. He blamed their conduct to Mr. Knox, which he said, was neither godly nor brotherly; and concludes, with beseeching them to prevent divisions among themselves. This pacific letter having no effect, the old con-

gregation left their countrymen in possession of their church, and departed the city. Mr. Fox with a few more withdrew to Basil; and the rest to Geneva, where they were received with great humanity. and having a church appointed them, chose Messrs. Knox and Goodman their pastors. Here they set up the Geneva discipline, which they published in English, under the title of the Service, Discipline, and form of Common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, used in the English church of Geneva.

This is a fair statement of the original breach or schism between the English exiles, on account of the service book of King Edward; which made way for the distinction, of Puritans and Conformists. It is evident that Dr. Cox and his friends were the aggressors, by breaking in upon the harmony of the congregation of Frankfort, at that time in peace, and under an agreement to go on in their way of worship for a limited time, which time was not then expired. He artfully ejected Mr. Knox from his ministry, and brought in the service book with a high hand; whereby those who had been in possession of the church almost two years, were obliged to depart the city, and set up their worship in another place. They might have used their own forms, without imposing them upon others, and breaking a congregation to pieces that had settled upon a different foundation, with the leave of the government, under which they enjoyed protection. But they insisted, that because the congregation of Frankfort was made up of English men, they ought to have the form of an English church; that many of them had subscribed to the use of the service book; and that the departing from it at this time, was pouring contempt on the martyrs, who were sealing it with their blood. The others replied, that the laws of their country relating to the service book were repealed; and as for their subscription, it could not bind them from making nearer approaches to the purity of the christian dispensation, especially where there was no established protestant church in England, and they were in a strange country, where the vestments and ceremonies gave occasion of offence. Besides, it was allowed on all hands, that the

book itself was imperfect, and it was credibly reported, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up a form of common prayer, much more perfect, which he could not introduce, because of the corruption of the clergy. As for discipline, it was out of question that it was very defective, the service book itself lamenting the want of it; and therefore they apprehended, that if the martyrs themselves were in their circumstances, they would practice with the like latitude, and reform those imperfections in the English service, which they attempted, but could not accomplish in their own country.

Dr. Cox having settled Mr. Horn in the pastoral office, in the room of Mr. Whitehead who resigned, after some time left the place. But within six months a new division arose, occasioned by a private dispute between Mr. Horn, the minister, and Mr. Ashby, one of the principal members. Mr. Horn summoned Ashby to appear at the vestry before the elders and officers of the church; Ashby appealed from them as parties, to the whole church, who appointed the cause to be brought before them; but Mr. Horn and the officers protesting against it, chose rather to lay down their ministry than submit to a popular decision. The congregation being assembled on this occasion, gave it as their opinion, that in all controversies among themselves, and especially in cases of appeals, the *dernior resort* should be in the people. It is hardly credible what heats and divisions these quarrels occasioned to the scandal of religion and their own reproach. At length the magistrate interposed, and advised them to bury all past offences in oblivion, and to chose new officers in the room of those that had resigned; and since their discipline were defective, as to the points of controversy that had already arose, they commanded them to appoint certain persons of their own number, to draw up a new form, or correct and amend the old one; and to do this before they chose their ecclesiastical officers, that being all private persons, they might agree upon that which was most reasonable in itself, without respect of persons or parties. Hereupon fifteen of their members were appointed to the work, which after some time they finished; and having been subscribed by the church, was confirmed

by the magistrates; and twenty-three more were added to the church and subscribed; but Mr. Horn and his party, to the number of twelve dissented, and appealed to the magistrates, who had the patience to hear their objections, and the others reply. But Mr. Horn and his friends not prevailing, left the congregation to their new discipline, and departed the city; from which time they continued in peace. During these troubles died Dr. Poynt, late Bishop of Winchester, born in Kent, and educated in Queen's College Oxon, a very learned and pious divine, who was in such favour with King Edward, for his practical preaching, that he preferred him first to the bishopric of Rochester, and then to Winchester. Upon the accession of Mary, he fled to Strasburgh, where he died before he was full forty years old, and was buried amidst the lamentations of his own countrymen.

But to return to England. Both the Universities were visited this year. At Cambridge they burnt Bucer and Fagius, with their books and writings. At Oxford, the visitors went through all the colleges, burning the English Bibles, and such heretical books as they could find. They took up the body of Peter Martyr's wife, out of one of the churches, and buried it in a dunghill, because having been once a nun, she had broke her vow; but the relics were afterwards dug up again in Elizabeth's reign, and mixed with the bones of St. Fridiswide, that they might never more be disturbed by papists. The persecution was carried on with all imaginable fury; and a design set on foot to introduce the inquisition. Cardinal Pole being thought too favourable to heretics, for releasing several who were brought before him, upon their giving ambiguous answers, had his legantine power taken from him, and was recalled; but upon his submission he was forgiven, and continued here till his death, though he had little influence afterwards, either in the courts of Rome or England, being a clergyman of too much temper for such violent times.

The Princess Elizabeth was in constant danger of her life, throughout the whole course of this reign. Upon the breaking out of Wyat's conspiracy, she was committed to the Tower, and led in by the traitor's gate; her

own servants being removed, and no person allowed to have access to her. The governor used her hardly, not suffering her to walk in the gallery, or upon the leads. After some time she was sent to Woodstock, in custody of Sir Henry Benefield, who used her so ill, that she apprehended they designed to put her privately to death. Here she remained under close confinement, being seldom indulged to walk in the gardens. The politic Bishop Gardiner often moved the Queen, to put her out of the way, saying, it was to no purpose to lop off the branches while the tree was standing. But King Philip was her friend; who sent for her to court, where falling upon her knees before the Queen, she protested her innocence, as to all conspiracies and treasons against her Majesty; yet the Queen still hated her: however after that, her guards were discharged, and she was suffered to retire into the country, where she gave herself wholly to study, meddling in no sort of business, being always apprehensive of having spies about her. The princess complied outwardly with her sister's religion, avoiding as much as she could any intercourse with the Bishops, who suspected her of an inclination to heresy from her education. The Queen herself was apprehensive of the danger of the popish religion, if she died without issue; and was often urged by her clergy, especially when her health was visibly declining, to secure the Roman catholic religion, by delivering the kingdom from such a presumptive heir; and as her Majesty had no scruple of conscience about spilling human blood in the cause of religion; the preservation of the princess was little less than a miracle, and was owing under God, to the protection of King Philip, who despairing of issue from his Queen, was not without expectations from the princess.

But the hand of God was against Queen Mary and her government, which was hardly attended with one prosperous event; for instead of having issue by her marriage, she had only a false conception, after which there was little or no hopes of her having a child. This increased the eagerness of her temper; and her husband being much younger than her, grew weary of her, and at length left her to look to his hereditary dominions, after he had lived with her about fifteen months. There being a war between Spain and

France, the Queen was obliged to take part with her husband: this exhausted the treasure of the nation, and occasioned the loss of all the English dominions upon the continent. In the beginning of the year, the strong town of Calais were taken, which had been in possession of the English two hundred and ten years: afterwards the French took Guines, and the rest of that territory; nothing being left except the isles of Jersey and Guernsey. The English (says a learned writer) had lost their hearts; the government at home being so unacceptable, that they were not much concerned to support it, for they began to think heaven itself was against it. Indeed there were strange and unusual commotions in the heavens. Great mischief was done in many places by thunder and lightning; by deluges; by excessive rains; and by stormy winds. There was a contagious distemper like the plague, that swept away great numbers of the people, so that in many places there were not priests to bury the dead, nor men to reap the harvest. Many Bishops died, which made way for protestant ones, in the next reign. The parliament was dissatisfied with King Philip's demands of men and money, for the recovery of Calais; and the Queen herself grew melancholy, upon the loss of that place, and the other misfortunes of the year. She had been declining in health ever since her pretended miscarriage, which was vastly increased by the absence of her husband, her despair of issue, and the cross accidents attending her government. Her spirits being now decayed, and a dropsy coming violently upon her, put an end to her unhappy life and reign, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

Queen Mary was a princess of severe principles, constant at her prayers, and very little given to diversions. She did not mind any branch of government so much as the church, being entirely at the disposal of her clergy, and forward to sanction all their cruelties. She had deep resentments of her own ill usage, in her father's and brother's reign, which easily induced her to take revenge, though she coloured it over with a zeal against heresy. She was perfectly blind in matters of religion, her conscience being absolutely directed by the Pope and her confessor, who encouraged her in all the barbarities exercised against the protestants, assuring her,

that she was doing God and his church good service. There is but one instance of a pardon of any condemned for heresy, during her reign. Her natural temper was melancholy; and her infirmities together with the misfortunes of her government, made her so peevish, that her death was lamented by none but popish clergy. Her reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, and ought to be transmitted down to posterity in characters of blood.

CHAP. IV.



ELIZABETH.

State of the Nation.—Return of the exiles.—Proceedings of Parliament.—Act of Supremacy.—Court of high commission.—Remarks.—Acts of Uniformity.—Proceedings of convocation.—Principles of Reformers and Puritans.—Queen's injunctions.—Popish Clergy deprived.—Terms of conformity.—Scots' Reformation.—Association of the reformed.—They take up Arms.—Treaty of Edinburgh.—Sad state of the Clergy and Universities.—Miles Coverdale.—John Fox.—The Queen urged to enforce the habits.—Arguments against them.—Proceedings with the London Clergy.—Hardships of the Puritans.—Rise of the separation.—Affairs of Scotland.

QUEEN ELIZABETH's accession to the crown, gave new life to the reformation: as soon as it was known beyond sea, most of the exiles returned; and those who had concealed themselves at home began to appear; but the public religion continued for a time in the same posture the Queen found it: the popish priests kept their livings and went on celebrating mass. None of the protestant clergy who had been ejected, in the last reign were restored; and others were given against all innovations. Though the Queen had complied with the changes in her sister's reign, it is well known she was a favourer of the reformation; but her Majesty proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her infant government. No prince ever came to the crown under greater disadvantages. The Pope had pronounced her illegitimate; upon

which the Queen of Scots put in her claim to the crown. All the bishops and clergy were her declared enemies. The nation was at war with France, and the treasury exhausted; the Queen therefore by the advice of her privy council, resolved to make peace as soon as possible, that she might be more at leisure to proceed to her intended alterations of religion, which though very considerable, were not so entire as the best and most learned protestants of these times desired. The Queen inherited the spirit of her father, and affected great magnificence in her devotions, as well as in her Court. She was fond of many of the old rites and ceremonies in which she had been educated. She thought her brother had striped religion too much of its ornaments; and made the doctrines of the church too narrow in some points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed on, to go the length of King Edward's reformation.

The only thing her Majesty did before the meeting of parliament, was to prevent pulpit disputes; for some of the reformed that had been preachers in Edward's time, began to make use of his service book without authority; this alarmed the popish clergy and gave occasion to a proclamation, by which all preaching of ministers, or others, was prohibited; and the people were charged to hear no other doctrine or preaching, but the epistle and gospel for the day, and ten commandments in English, without any exposition or paraphrase. The proclamation admits of the litany, the Lord's prayer, and the creed in English; but no public prayers were to be read in the church, except such as were appointed by law, till the meeting of parliament.

While the exiles were preparing to return home; conciliatory letters passed between them: those of Geneva desired a mutual forgiveness, and prayed their brethren of Frankfort, &c. to unite with them in preaching God's word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a form of worship, as they had seen practised in the best reformed churches. The others replied, that it would not be in their power to appoint what ceremonies should be observed; but they were determined to submit in things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too; however, they

would join with them in petitioning the Queen, that nothing burdensome might be imposed. Both parties congratulated her Majesty's accession; but they were reduced to the utmost poverty and distress. They came home, bringing nothing with them but much experience, as well as learning. Those who could comply with the Queen's establishment, were quickly preferred, and the rest neglected, for though suffered to preach in churches for some time, they were afterwards suspended, and reduced to as great poverty as ever.

It had been happy if the sufferings of the exiles had taught them a little more forbearance; or that they had followed the advice of their learned friends and patrons beyond sea, to go through with the reformation, and clear the church of all the relics of popery and superstition at once. The exiles seemed resolved to follow this advice, and make a bold stand for a thorough reformation; and if they had done so, they might have obtained it.

But to return to the parliament. The Court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success; the magistrates of the counties and corporations were changed, and the people who were weary of the late persecutions were encouraged to exert themselves, in favour of such representatives as might make them easy; so that when the houses met, the majority were on the side of the reformation. The temper of the house was first tried by a bill to restore to the crown the first fruits and tenths, which Queen Mary had returned to the church. It passed the commons without opposition, but in the house of lords, all the Bishops voted against it. By another act they repealed some of the penal laws, and enacted, that no person should be punished for exercising the religion used in the last year of King Edward. They appointed the public service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. They empowered the Queen to nominate Bishops to the vacant bishopries by *conge d'elire*, as at present. They suppressed the religious houses founded by Queen Mary, and annexed them to the crown; but the two principal acts passed this session, were the acts of SUPREMACY, and of UNIFORMITY.

The former is entitled, an act for restoring to the crown an ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and

spiritual; and for abolishing foreign power. It is the same in substance with the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, but the commons incorporated several other bills into it; for besides the title of supreme governor in all causes ecclesiastical and temporal, which is restored to the Queen, the act revives those laws of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, which had been repealed in the late reign. It forbids all appeals to Rome, and exonerates the subjects from all exactions heretofore paid to that Court; and as it revives King Edward's laws, it repeals a severe act made in the late reign for punishing heresy; and three other old statutes mentioned in the said act. In short, by this single act of supremacy, all that had been done by Queen Mary was in a manner annulled, and the external policy of the church restored to the same footing as it stood on at the death of Edward the Sixth.

There is a remarkable clause in this act, which gave rise to a new Court, called the Court of HIGH COMMISSION. The words are these, "The Queen and her successors shall have power, by their letters patent under the great seal, to assign, name, and authorize, as often as they shall think meet, and for as long time as they shall please, persons being natural born subjects, to use, occupy, and exercise under her and them, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the realms of England and Ireland, &c. to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities whatsoever. Provided, that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so, by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture; or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation."

Upon the authority of this clause, the Queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who exercised the same power that had been

lodged in the hands of one vicegerent in the reign of Henry Eighth and how sadly they abused their power in this and the two next reigns, will appear in the sequel of this history. They did not trouble themselves much with the express words of scripture, or the four first general councils, but entangled their prisoners with oaths *ex-officio*, and the inextricable mazes of the popish canon law; and though all ecclesiastical courts ought to be subject to a prohibition from the courts of Westminster, this privilege was seldom allowed. The act makes no mention of an arbitrary jurisdiction of fining, imprisoning, or inflicting corporal punishments on the subjects, and therefore can be construed to extend no further than to suspension or deprivations; but notwithstanding this, the commissioners sported themselves in all the wanton acts of tyranny, till their very name became odious to the whole nation; insomuch that their proceedings were condemned by the united voice of the people, and the court dissolved by act of parliament, with a clause, that no such jurisdiction should be revived for the future in any court whatsoever.

Bishop Burnet says, that the supremacy granted by this act is short of the authority that King Henry had; nor is it the whole that the Queen claimed, who sometimes stretched her prerogative beyond it. But since it was the basis of the reformation, and the spring of all its future movements, it will be proper to enquire what powers were thought to be yielded the crown by this act of supremacy, and some others made in support of it. Henry Eighth, in his letter to the convocation of York assures them, that he claimed nothing more by the Supremacy, than what christian princes in the primitive times assumed to themselves in their own dominions. But it is capable of demonstration, that the first christian emperors did not claim all that jurisdiction over the church in spirituals, that Henry did, who was made absolute lord over the consciences of his subjects, it being therein enacted, that whatsoever his Majesty should enjoin in matters of religion should be obeyed by all his subjects.

It is very certain that the Kings and Queens of England

never pretended to the character of spiritual persons, or to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical function in their own persons. When the adversaries of the supremacy objected the absurdity of a lay person being head of a spiritual body, the Queen endeavoured to remove the difficulty, by declaring in her injunctions to her visitors, "That she did not, nor would she ever challenge authority and *power to minister divine service in the church* ; nor would she ever challenge any other authority, than her predecessors Henry Eighth, and Edward Sixth used."

But abating this point, it appears very probable, that all the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the pope, as head of the church, in the times preceding the reformation, was transferred to the king by the act of supremacy, and annexed to the imperial crown, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land, though it has since undergone some abatements. 1. The Kings and Queens of England claimed authority in matters of faith, and to be the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the word of God. They published instructions or injunctions concerning matters of faith, without consent of the clergy, and enforced them upon the clergy under the penalties of *præmunire* ; which made it a little difficult to understand that clause of the 20th article of the church, which says, the church has authority in matters of faith. 2. With regard to discipline, the Kings and Queens of England seem to have had the keys at their girdle, and therefore at the coronation of King Charles I. the bishop was directed to pray, "That God would give the King, Peter's key of discipline, and Paul's doctrine." 3. As to rites and ceremonies the act of uniformity says expressly, "That the Queen's majesty, by advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of her metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies or rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's Glory, and the edifying of the church." Accordingly her Majesty published her injunctions, without sending them into convocation or parliament, and erected a court of high commission, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put in execution. Nay, so jealous was Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she

would not suffer her high court of parliament, to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church. 4. The Kings of England claimed the sole power of the nomination of bishops; and the deans and chapters were obliged to choose those whom their Majesties named, under penalty of a *præmunire*: and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown, They held their very bishoprics, for some time, *durante beneplacito*. 5. No convocations or synods of the clergy can assemble but by a writ or precept from the crown; and when assembled, they can do no business without the King's letters patent, appointing them the particular subjects they are to debate upon, and after all, their canons are of no force, without the royal sanction. Upon the whole it is evident, by the express words of several statutes, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was vested in the King, and taken away from the Bishops, except by delegation from him. The King was chief in the determination of all causes in the church; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies, and constitutions, and without him no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions were to be of force. And, lastly, all appeals which before had been made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his Majesty's chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by delegates.

I am sensible, that the constitution of the church has been altered in some things since that time: but let the reader judge, by what has been recited from acts of parliament, of the high powers that were then intrusted with the crown; and how far they were agreeable with the natural or religious rights of mankind. The whole body of the papists refused the oath of supremacy, as inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope; but the puritans took it under all these disadvantages, with the Queen's explication in her injunctions; that is, that no more was intended, than that her Majesty, under God, had the sovereignty and rule over all persons born in her realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power had, or ought to have authority over them. They appre-

hended this to be the natural right of all sovereign princes in their dominions, though there had been no statute law for it; but as they did not admit the government of the church to be monarchical, they were of opinion, that no single person, whether layman or ecclesiastic, ought to assume the title of supreme head of the church on earth, in the sense of the acts abovementioned. The powers of the civil magistrate seem chiefly to regard the civil welfare of his subjects. He is to protect them in their properties, and in the peaceable enjoyment of their civil and religious rights; but there is no passage in the New Testament that gives him a commission to be lord of their consciences, or to have dominion over their faith; nor is this agreeable to reason, because religion ought to be the effect of a free and deliberate choice. Why must we believe as the King believes, any more than as the clergy or Pope? If every man could believe as he would; or if all men's understandings were exactly of a size; or if God would accept of a mere outward profession, when commanded by law; then it might be reasonable there should be only one religion, and one uniform manner of worship. But to make laws, obliging men's practice under severe penalties, without or against the light of their consciences, is an invasion of the kingly office of Christ, and must be SUBVERSIVE OF ALL SINCERITY.

On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the church is purely spiritual. No man ought to be compelled, by rewards or punishments, to become a member of any christian society, or to continue of it any longer, than he apprehends it to be his duty. All the ordinances of the church are spiritual, and so are her weapons and censures. The weapons of the church are scripture and reason. These are her pillars and the walls of her defence. The censures of the church are admonitions, reproofs, or declarations of unfitness for her communion, which are of a spiritual nature, and ought not to affect men's lives, liberties, or estates. No man ought to be cut off from the rights of a subject, merely because he is disqualified for christian communion. Nor has any church authority from Christ, to inflict corporal punishments upon those, whom she may justly expel her society.

These are the weapons of civil magistrates, who may punish the breakers of the laws ^{which} ~~which~~ corporal pains and penalties; but the kingdom of Christ is "NOT OF THIS WORLD."

If these principles had obtained at the reformation, there would have been no room for the disturbance of any, whose religious principles were not inconsistent with the safety of the government. Truth and charity would have prevailed; the civil powers would have protected the church in her spiritual rights; and the church, by instructing the people in their duty to their superiors, would have supported the state. But the reformers, as well puritans as others, had different notions. They were for one religion, one uniform mode of worship, one form of church government with which all must comply outwardly, whatever were their inward sentiments; it was therefore resolved to have an act of parliament to establish an uniformity of public worship, without any indulgence to tender consciences: neither party having the wisdom or courage to oppose such a law, but both endeavouring to be included in it.

To make way for this, the papists who were in possession of the churches, were first to be vanquished; the Queen therefore appointed a public disputation before her privy council and both houses of parliament, between nine of the Bishops, and the like number of protestant divines, upon these three points:—1. "Whether it was not against scripture and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers and sacraments?" 2. "Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away rites and ceremonies, so that the same were done to edifying?" 3. "Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?"

The disputation was to be in writing; but the papists finding the populace against them, broke it off after the first day, under pretence that the catholic cause ought not to be submitted to such an arbitration, though they had not these scruples in the reign of Mary, when it was known, the

conference would issue in their favour. The reformed had a great advantage by their adversaries quitting the field in this manner, it being concluded from hence, that their cause would not bear the light; which prepared the people for further changes.

The papists being vanquished, the next point was to unite the reformed among themselves, and to get such an establishment as might make them all easy; for though the troubles at Frankfort were hushed, and letters of forgiveness had passed between the contending parties; and though all the reformers were of one faith; yet they were far from agreeing about discipline and ceremonies, each party being for settling the church according to their own model; some were for the late service and discipline of the English at Geneva; others were for the service-book of Edward the Sixth, and for withdrawing no farther from the Church of Rome, than was necessary to recover purity of faith, and the independency of the church upon a foreign power. Rites and ceremonies were (in their opinion) indifferent; and those of the Church of Rome preferable to others, because they were venerable and pompous, and because the people had been used to them: these were the sentiments of the Queen, who therefore appointed a committee of divines, to review King Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to be changed. Their instructions were, to strike out all offensive passages against the Pope, and to make people easy about the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but not a word in favour of the stricter protestants.

Her Majesty was afraid of reforming too far: she was desirous to retain images in churches, and crucifixes, &c. with all the old popish garments; it is not therefore to be wondered at, that in reviewing the liturgy of King Edward, no alterations were made in favour of those who were now called PURITANS; from their attempting a purer form of worship and discipline than had yet been established. The Queen was more concerned for the papists, and therefore in the litany, this passage was struck out,—*From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.* The rubric that declared,

that by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporal presence of Christ, was expunged. The committee of divines left it at the people's liberty, to receive the sacrament kneeling or standing, but the Queen and the parliament restrained it to kneeling; so that the enforcing this ceremony was purely an act of the state. Some of the collects were a little altered; and thus the book was presented to the two houses, and passed into a law, being hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward. For whereas in that liturgy all the garments were laid aside, except the surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward's first book, wherein copes and other garments were ordered to be used.—The title of the act is, An act for the uniformity of common prayer, and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments. This act took place from the twenty-fourth of June. Heath, Archbishop of York made an elegant speech against it, in which among other things he observes very justly, That an act of this consequence ought to have had the consent of the clergy in convocation, before it passed into a law, “Not only the orthodox, but even the Arian Emperors ordered that points of faith, should be examined in councils; and Gallio by the light of nature knew that a civil judge ought not to meddle with matters of religion.” But he was over-ruled; the act of supremacy which passed the house the very next day, having vested this power in the crown. “The Queen was empowered with the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites, as may be for the advancement of God's glory, &c. And had it not been for this clause, of a reserve of power to make what alterations her Majesty thought fit, she told Archbishop Parker, that she would not have passed the act.

Upon this fatal rock of uniformity in things merely indifferent, (even in the opinion of the *imposers*) was the peace of the Church of England split. The pretence was decency and order; but it seems a little strange, that uniformity should be necessary to the decent worship of God, when in most other things, there is a greater beauty in variety. It is not necessary to a decent dress, that men's cloths should be all of the same colour and fashion; nor

would there be any indecorum or disorder, if in one congregation the sacrament should be administered *kneeling*, in another *sitting*, and in a third *standing*; or if in one and the same congregation, the minister was at liberty to read prayers either in a black gown or surplice. The rigorous pressing of this act, was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befel the church for above eighty years. What good end could it answer to press men into the public service, without convincing their minds? If there must be one established form, there should certainly have been an indulgence to tender consciences. When there was a difference in the church of the Romans, about eating flesh, and observing festivals, the apostle did not pinch them with an act of uniformity, but allowed a latitude, Rom. xiv. 5. Had our reformers followed this apostolical precedent, the Church of England would have made a more glorious figure in the protestant world, than it did by this compulsive act of uniformity.

Sad were the consequences of these two laws, both to the papists and puritans. The papists in convocation made a stand for the old religion; and agreed upon various articles of their faith to be presented to the parliament; nor did the convocation move any further in matters of religion, it being apparent that they were against the reformation.

As soon as the sessions was ended, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the Bishops, who all refused it, except the Bishop of Landaff, to the number of fourteen; the rest of the sees being vacant. Of the deprived Bishops three retired beyond sea; Heath, Archbishop of York, was suffered to live at his own house, where the Queen went sometimes to visit him; Tonsal and Thirleby, Bishops of Durham and Ely, resided at Lambeth in the house of Archbishop Parker, with freedom and ease; the rest were suffered to go at large upon their parole; only Bonner, Bishop of London, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, whose hands had been deeply stained with the blood of the protestants, were made close prisoners; but they had a sufficient maintenance from the Queen. Most of the monks returned to a secular life; but the nuns and others retired to foreign countries.

Several of the reformed exiles who were offered bishoprics, refused them, on the account of the habits and ceremonies, &c. ; and many who accepted them, did it with trembling; from the necessity of the times, and in hopes by their interest with the Queen, to obtain an amendment in the constitution of the church.

The sees were left vacant for some time, to see if any of the old Bishops would conform; but neither time, nor any thing else, could move them; at length, after twelve months, Dr. Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by some of the Bishops that had been deprived in the late reign, for not one of the present Bishops would officiate. This, with some other accidents, gave rise to the story of his being consecrated at the Nag's-Head Tavern in Cheapside, a fable that has been sufficiently confuted by our church historians: the persons concerned in the consecration, were Barlow and Scory, Bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford; Coverdale the deprived Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford. The ceremony was performed in a plain manner, without gloves or sandals, ring or slippers, mitre or pall, or even without any of the Aaronical garments, only by imposition of hands and prayer. Strange! that the Archbishop should be satisfied with this in his own case, and yet be so zealous to impose the popish garments upon his brethren.

But still it has been doubted, whether Parker's consecration was perfectly canonical. 1. Because the persons engaged in it had been legally deprived, and were not yet restored. 2. Because the consecration ought by law to have been directed according to the statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, and not according to King Edward's ordinal; as that book had been set aside in the late reign, and was not yet restored. These objections being frequently thrown in the way of the new bishops by the papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the validity of their consecrations, or at least of their legal title of their bishoprics. The affair was at length brought before parliament, and to silence all future clamours, Parker's consecration, and those of his brethren were confirmed by parliament.

Soon after the Archbishop was installed, he consecrated

several of his brethren, whom the Queen had appointed to the vacant sees. Thus the reformation was restored, and the Church of England settled on its present basis. The new Bishops being poor, made a mean figure in comparison of their predecessors: they were unacquainted with Courts and equipages, and numerous attendants; but as they grew rich, they quickly rose in their deportment, and assumed a lordly superiority over their brethren.

The hierarchy being now at its standard, it may not be improper to set before the reader in one view, the principles upon which it stands, with the different sentiments of the puritans; by which he will discover the reasons why the reformation proceeded no further.

1. The Court reformers apprehended, that every prince had authority to correct all abuses of doctrine and worship, within his own territories. From this principle, the parliament submitted the consciences and religion of the whole nation, to the disposal of the King; and in case of a minority to his council; so that the King was sole reformer, and might model the doctrine and discipline of the church as he pleased, provided his injunctions did not expressly contradict the statute law of the land.—The Puritans disowned all foreign jurisdiction over the church, as much as their brethren, but could not admit of that extensive power the crown claimed by the supremacy, apprehending it unreasonable, that the religion of a whole nation, should be at the disposal of a single lay-person. However they took the oath, with the Queen's explication in her injunctions, as only restoring her Majesty to the ancient and natural rights of sovereign princes over their subjects.

2. It was admitted by the Court reformers, that the Church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the universal church. It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the support of the character of our Bishops, who could not otherwise derive their succession from the apostles. But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be antichrist, the Church of Rome to be no true church, and her ministrations to be superstitious and

idolatrous; they renounced her communion, and durst not risk the validity of their ordinations, upon an uninterrupted line of succession from the apostles, through their hands.

3. It was agreed by all, that the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith; but the Bishops and Court reformers did not allow them a standard of discipline or church government, affirming that our Saviour and his apostles left it to the discretion of the the civil magistrate, in those places where christianity should obtain, to accommodate the government of the church to the policy of the state. But the Puritans apprehended the scriptures to be a standard of discipline, as well as doctrine; at least that nothing should be imposed as necessary, but what was expressly contained in, or derived from them by necessary consequence. And if it should be proved, that all things necessary to the government of the church, could not be deduced from scripture, they maintained that the discretionary power was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the church.

4. The Court reformers maintained, that the practice of the primitive church for the first four or five centuries, was a proper standard of church government; and in some respects better than that of the apostles, which was only accommodated to the infant state of the church, while it was under persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the grandeur of a national establishment. Therefore they only pared off the latter corruptions of the papacy, from the time the Pope usurped the title of universal bishop, and left those standing which they could trace a little higher, such as archbishops, metropolitans, archdeacons, suffragans, rural deans, &c. which were not known in the apostolic age, or those immediately following. Whereas the Puritans were for admitting no church officers or ordinances, but such as are appointed in scripture. They apprehended that the form of government ordained by the apostles was aristocratical, according to the constitution of the Jewish sanhedrim, and was designed as a pattern for the churches in after-ages, not to be departed from in any of its main principles; and therefore they paid no regard to the customs of the papacy, or the prac-

tice of the earlier ages of christianity, any further than they corresponded with the scriptures.

5. Our reformers maintained, that things indifferent in their own nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the scriptures, such as rites, ceremonies, habits, &c. might be settled, determined and made necessary, by the command of the civil magistrate; and that in such cases it was the indispensable duty of all subjects to observe them. Whereas the Puritans insisted, that those things which Christ had left indifferent, ought not to be made necessary by any human laws. And that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatry, and tended to lead men back to popery, were no longer indifferent, but were to be rejected as unlawful.

6. Each party agreed too well, in asserting the necessity of uniformity in public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate, for the support and defence of their principles, of which they both made an ill use, whenever they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the Bishops, was the Queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate: but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the civil government.

The principle upon which the Bishops justified their severities against the Puritans, in this and the following reigns, was, the subjects obligation to obey the laws of their country in all things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the laws of God. And Archbishop Tillotson in one of his sermons, represents the dissenters as "an humourous and perverse set of people, in not complying with the service and ceremonies of the church, for no other reason but because their superiors require them." But if this was the truth, it is a justifiable reason for their dissent, supposing the magistrate requires that which is not within the bounds of his commission. Christ is the sole law-giver of his church, and has enjoined all things necessary to be observed in it to the end of the world; therefore, where he has indulged a liberty to his

followers, it is as much their duty to maintain it, as to observe any other of his precepts. If the civil magistrate should by a stretch of the prerogative, dispense with the laws, or injoin new ones, according to his arbitrary pleasure, without consent of parliament, would it deserve the brand of perverseness to refuse obedience, if it were for no other reason, but because we will not submit to an arbitrary, dispensing power? Besides, if the magistrate has a power to impose things indifferent, and make them necessary in the service of God, he may dress up religion in any shape, and instead of one ceremony, may load it with a hundred.

To return to the history. The reformation being thus settled, the Queen issued commissions for a general visitation, and published a body of injunctions, commanding her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their offices, degrees and states: and the penalties for disobeying them, were suspension, deprivation, sequestration of fruits and benefices, excommunication, and such other corrections, as to those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction under her Majesty, should seem meet.

The major part of the visitors were laymen, any two of them were empowered to examine into the state of all churches; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others in their places; to proceed against the obstinate by imprisonment, church censures, or any other legal methods. They were to reserve pensions for such as quitted their benefices by resignation; to examine into the condition of all that were imprisoned for religion, and to discharge them; and restore all to their benefices who had been unlawfully deprived.

This was the first high commission that was issued. It gave offence to many, that the Queen should authorise lay-visitors to proceed by ecclesiastical censures; but this was no more than is frequently done by lay-chancellors, in the ecclesiastical Courts. It was much more unjustifiable for the commissioners to go beyond the censures of the church, by fines, imprisonments, and inquisitory oaths, to the ruin of some hundreds of families, without the authority of that statute which gave them being, or any other.

Mr. Strype assures us, that the visitors took effectual care to have all the instruments and utensils of idolatry and superstition demolished, and destroyed out of the churches. But it does not appear, that the articles of injunctions empowered them absolutely to remove all images out of the churches; the Queen herself was as yet undetermined in that matter. However it is certain, that the visitors commanded the prebendaries and archdeacon of London, to see that the cathedral of St. Paul's be purged and freed from all and singular images, idols, and altars; and in the place of the altars to provide a decent table, for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's supper.

The populace was on the side of the reformation, having been provoked with the cruelties of the late times: great numbers attended the commissioners, and brought into Cheapside, St. Paul's church-yard, and Smithfield, the roods and crucifixes that were pulled down, and in some places the vestments of the priests, &c. and burnt them to ashes. Nay, they went further, and in the warmth of their zeal, broke the painted glass windows, erased out some ancient inscriptions, and spoiled those monuments of the dead that had any ensigns of popery upon them.

But the Queen disliked these proceedings; she had a crucifix, with the Virgin and St. John, still in her chapel; and when Sandys, Bishop of Worcester spoke to her against it, she threatened to deprive him. The crucifix was after some time removed, but replaced in the year 1570. To put some stop to these proceedings, her Majesty issued a proclamation, "prohibiting the defacing or breaking any monument, tomb or grave, or breaking any images of Kings, Princes, or Nobles, &c. set up only in memory of them to posterity; and not for any religious honour; or the defacing or breaking any images in glass windows in any churches, without consent of the ordinary." It was with great difficulty, and not without a sort of protestation from the Bishops, that her Majesty consented to have so many monuments of idolatry removed out of churches; but she would not part with her altar, or crucifix, out of her own chapel. The gentlemen and singing children appeared there in their surplices, and the priests in their copes; the altar was furnished with rich plate,

with two gilt candlesticks, with lighted candles, and a massy crucifix of silver in the midst: the service was sung not only with the sound of organs, but with the artificial music of cornets, sackbuts, &c. on solemn festivals. The ceremonies observed by the knights of the garter, in their adoration towards the altar, which had been abolished by King Edward, and revived by Queen Mary, were retained. In short, the service of the Queen's chapel, and in sundry cathedrals, was so splendid and showy, that foreigners could not distinguish it from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English tongue. By this method most of the popish laity were deceived into conformity, and came regularly to church for nine or ten years, till the pope being out of all hopes of an accommodation, forbid them, by excommunicating the Queen, and laying the whole kingdom under an interdict.

When the visitors had gone through the kingdom, and made the report of the obedience given to her majesty's injunctions, it appeared that above 243 clergymen had quitted their livings. Most of the inferior beneficed clergy kept their places, as they had done through all the changes of the three last reigns; and without all question, if the Queen had died, and the old religion had been restored, they would have turned again; but the bishops and some of the dignified clergy, having sworn to the supremacy under King Henry, and renounced it again under Queen Mary, they thought it might reflect a dishonour upon their character to change again, and therefore resolved to hold together, and by their weight endeavour to distress the reformation. Upon so great an alteration of religion, the number of recusants out of 9,400 parochial benefices was inconsiderable; and yet it was impossible to find protestants of a tolerable capacity, to supply the vacancies, because many of the stricter sort, who had been exiles for religion, could not come up to the terms of conformity, and the Queen's injunctions.

It may seem strange, that amidst all this concern for the new form of worship, no notice should be taken of the doctrinal articles, which King Edward had published, for avoiding diversities of opinions, though her Majesty might have enjoined them, by virtue of her supremacy

as well as her brother ; but the bishops durst not venture them into convocation, because the majority was for the old religion, and the Queen was not very fond of her brothers doctrines. To supply this defect for the present, the bishops drew up a declaration of their faith, in which they insist upon these terms of ministerial conformity ; the oath of supremacy, compliance with the act of uniformity, and this declaration of faith. There was no dispute among the reformers, about the first and last of these qualifications, but they differed upon the second ; many of the learned exiles, and others, refusing to accept of livings in the church according to the act of uniformity, and the Queen's injunctions. If the popish habits and ceremonies had been left indifferent, or other decent ones appointed in their room, the seeds of division had been prevented ; but as the case stood, it was next to a miracle, that the reformation had not fallen back into the hands of the papists ; and if some of the puritans had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these grievances, in more settled times, this would have been of sad consequence ; for it was impossible, with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character. Many churches were long destitute, and many mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those who were ejected, were preferred to dignities and livings, who being disregarded by the people, brought great discredit on the reformation, while others of the first rank for learning, piety, and usefulness in their functions, were laid by in silence. There was little or no preaching all over the country ; the Bishop of Bangor had but two preachers in all his diocese. It was enough if the parson could read the service, and sometimes an homily. The bishops were sensible of the calamity ; but instead of opening the door a little wider, for some of the more conscientious and zealous reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate, who would come up to the terms of the law ; and published a second book of homilies for their further assistance.

It is hard to say at this distance of time, how far the bishops were to blame for their servile and abject com-

pliance with the Queen: yet one is ready to think, that those who had drunk so deep of the cup of persecution, and had seen the dreadful effects of it, in the fiery trial of their brethren the martyrs, should have insisted as one man, upon a latitude for their conscientious brethren in points of indifference; whereas their zeal ran in quite a different channel; for when the sword was put into their hands, they were too forward in brandishing it over the heads of others, and even to outrun the laws, by suspending, depriving, fining, and imprisoning men of true learning and piety, popular preachers, declared enemies of popery and superstition, and of the same faith with themselves, who were fearful of a sinful compliance with things that had been abused to idolatry.

All the exiles were now come home, except a few of the puritans that stayed at Geneva, to finish their translation of the Bible. They compared Tyndal's old English Bible, first with the Hebrew, and then with the best modern translations; they divided the chapters into verses, which the former translators had not done; they added some figures, maps and tables, and published the whole this year at Geneva, in quarto, with a dedication to the Queen, and an epistle to the reader, which are left out in the later editions; because they touched somewhat roughly upon certain ceremonies retained in the Church of England, which they excited her Majesty to remove, as having a popish aspect; and because the translators had published marginal notes, some of which were thought to affect the Queen's prerogative, and to allow the subject to resist tyrannical Kings. And when the proprietors petitioned for reprinting it in England for public use, it was refused, and the impression stopped, till after the death of the Archbishop. The author of the "Troubles at Frankfurt," published in the year 1575 complains, that, "If the Geneva Bible be such as no enemy of God can justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour, as not to be printed again." The exceptionable notes were on Exodus xv. 19. where disobedience to Kings is allowed. 2 Chron. xv. 16. where Asa is censured for stopping short

at the deposing of his mother, and not executing her, Rev. ix. 3. where the locusts that came out of the smoke, are said to be heretics, false teachers, worldly, subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, batchelors, and masters. But notwithstanding these, and some other offensive passages in the notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted, and was in such repute, that some who had been curious to search into the number of its editions say, that by the Queen's own printers it was printed above thirty times. However, for a present supply, Tyndal and Coverdale's translation printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was revised for the use of the Church of England, till the Bishops should publish a more correct one; which they had now undertaken.

Together with the exiles, the Dutch and German protestants, who in the reign of Edward the Sixth, had the church in Austin Friars assigned them for a place of worship, returned to England, with John a Lasco, their superintendent. They petitioned the Queen to restore them to their church and privileges, which her Majesty declined, because she would not admit of a stranger, to be superintendent of a church within her Bishop's diocese. To take off this objection, a Lasco resigned, and the people chose Grindal, Bishop of London their superintendent, and then the Queen confirmed their charter. The French protestants were also restored to their church in *Threadneedle-Street*. The reformation took place this year in Scotland, by the preaching of Mr. J. Knox, who shunned no danger, nor feared the face of any man in the cause of religion. He had been a preacher in England, in King Edward's time, then an exile at Frankfort, and at last one of the ministers of the English congregation at Geneva, from whence he returned 1559, and settled at Perth, but was a sort of evangelist over the whole kingdom. He maintained this position, "That if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, inferior magistrates and the people being directed and instructed in the truth, by their preachers, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves; and if all or the far greatest part be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation."

Upon this principle, the Scots reformers petitioned the Queen dowager, regent for her daughter Mary, now in France, for liberty to assemble publicly or privately for prayer, for reading and explaining the scriptures, and administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's-supper in the vulgar tongue; and the latter in both kinds, according to Christ's institution. This reasonable petition being rejected, certain noblemen and barons formed an association, resolving to venture their lives and fortunes in this cause; and they encouraged as many of the curates of the parishes within their districts, as were willing to read the prayers and lessons in English, but not to expound the scriptures till God should dispose the Queen to grant them liberty. This being executed at Perth and the neighbouring parts, without disturbance, the association spread, and was signed by great numbers even in the capital. Upon this they presented another petition, representing to the regent the unreasonableness of her rigour against the protestants, considering their numbers; but she was deaf to all moderate councils.* At the meeting of the parliament, the congregation or heads of the association, presented the Regent with sundry articles relating to liberty of conscience, to lay before the house, which she suppressed and would not suffer to be debated; whereupon they drew up the following protestation, and desired it might be recorded. "That since they could not procure a reformation, agreeable to the word of God, from the government, that it might be lawful for them to follow the dictates of their own consciences. That none that joined with them in the profession of the true faith should be liable to any civil penalties, or incur any damages for so doing. They protest that if any tumults arise on the score of religion, the imputation ought not to lie upon them who now humbly entreat for a regular remedy; and that in all other things they will be most loyal subjects." The Regent acquainted the court of France with the situation of affairs, and received an order, to suffer no other religion but the Roman catholic to be performed, with a promise of large supplies of forces to support her. Upon this she summoned the magistrates of Perth, and

the reformed ministers to appear before her at Stirling, with a design to have them banished. The ministers appeared accordingly, being attended with vast crouds of people armed and prepared to defend them, agreeable to the custom of Scotland, which allowed criminals to come to their trials attended with their relations and friends. The Regent astonished at the sight, prayed J. Arskin to persuade the multitude to retire, and gave her parole that nothing should be decreed against the ministers; but they were no sooner gone quietly home, than she condemned them for non-appearance.

This news being brought to Perth, the burghers encouraged by great numbers of the nobility and neighbouring gentry, formed an army of seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Glencarne, for the defence of their ministers against the Regent, who was marching with an army of French and Scots, to drive them out of their country; but being informed of the preparation of the burghers, she consented to a treaty, by which it was agreed, that she should be received with honour into the city, be suffered to lodge in it some days, provided she would promise to make no alteration in religion, but refer all to the parliament; the Scots forces on both sides to be dismissed. But the reformed had no sooner disbanded their army, and opened their gates to the Regent, than she broke all the articles, set up the mass, and left a garrison of French in the town, resolving to make it a place of arms. Upon this notorious breach of treaty, as well as the Regent's declaration that promises were not to be kept with heretics, the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns and Montrose, raised a little army, and signed an engagement to assist each other, in maintaining the reformation with their lives and fortunes. Mr. Knox encouraged them by his sermons, and the populace being warmed, pulled down altars and images, plundered the monasteries, and dismantled the churches of their superstitious ornaments. The Regent marched against them at the head of two thousand French and two thousand Scots in French pay, but being afraid to venture a battle, she retreated to Dunbar, and the confederates made themselves masters of Perth, Scone, Sterlin, and Lithgoc. At length a

truce was concluded by which the ministers of the congregation had liberty to preach in Edinburgh for the present; but the Regent having soon after received large recruits from France, repossessed herself of Leith, and ordered it to be fortified, and stored with all necessary provisions; the confederates desired her to demolish the works, alledging it to be a violation of the truce; but she commanded them upon their allegiance to lay down their arms; and marching directly to Edinburgh, obliged them to retire to Stirling whither the French troops followed them, and dispersed them into the mountains. In this low condition they published a proclamation, discharging the Regent of her authority, and threatening to treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders; but not being able to stand their ground, they threw themselves into the arms of Queen Elizabeth, who being sensible of the danger of the protestant religion, and of her own crown, if Scotland should become entirely popish, under the government of a Queen of France, who claimed the crown of England; entered into an alliance to support the confederate protestants in their religion and civil liberties.

Among other articles of this treaty it was stipulated, that the Queen should send forces into Scotland, to continue there till the restoration of its liberties, and till the French were driven out of the kingdom. Accordingly her Majesty sent an army of seven thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which joined the confederate army of like numbers. This army was afterwards reinforced by a large detachment under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; after which they took the city of Leith, obliged the Queen Regent to shut herself up in the castle of Edinburgh, where she soon died. The French offered to restore Calais, if the Queen would recal her forces from Scotland; but she refused. At length the troubles of France requiring all their forces at home, plenipotentiaries were sent into Scotland to treat with Elizabeth about withdrawing the French forces, and restoring the Scots to their parliamentary government. The treaty was concluded the beginning of August, whereby a general amnesty was granted; the English and French forces were to withdraw in two

months, and a parliament to be called with all convenient speed, to settle the affairs of religion and the kingdom; but Francis and Mary refused to ratify it. Before the parliament met, Francis died, and left Mary Queen of Scots a young widow. The late treaty not being ratified, the parliament had no direct authority from the crown, but assembled by virtue of the late treaty, and received the following petitions from the barons and gentlemen concerning religion. 1. "That the doctrines of the Roman church should be suppressed by act of parliament, in those exceptionable points therein mentioned. 2. "That the discipline of the ancient church be revived. 3. "That the Pope's usurped authority be discharged." All which was voted, and the ministers were desired to draw up a confession of faith, which they expressed in twenty-five articles, agreeable to the sentiments of Calvin, and the foreign reformers. The confession being read in parliament was carried but with three dissenting voices; the popish prelates offering nothing in defence of their religion. By another act, the Pope's authority was abolished, and reading mass was made punishable; for the first offence, with loss of goods; for the second, banishment; and for the third, death. This was carrying matters with a high hand. Upon the breaking up of the parliament, a commission was directed to Messrs. Knox, Willock, Spotiswood and some other divines, to draw up a scheme of discipline for the church, which they did pretty much upon the Geneva plan. They also appointed superintendents to plant and erect kirks, and to appoint ministers in such counties as should be committed to their care, where there were none already. But then they add, "These men must not live like idle Bishops, but must preach themselves twice or thrice a week, and visit their districts every three or four months, to inspect the lives and behaviour of the parochial ministers, to redress grievances, or bring them before an assembly of the kirk." The superintendents were to be chosen, by the ministers and elders of the several provinces; and to be deprived by them for misbehaviour. The assemblies of the kirk were divided into classical, provincial, and national, in which last, the dernier resort of all kirk jurisdiction was lodged.

When this plan of discipline was laid before the estates, it was referred to further consideration, and had not a parliamentary sanction, as the reformers expected. But after the recess of the parliament, several noblemen, and chief gentlemen of the nation, met together, and signed it, resolving to abide by the new discipline, till it should be confirmed or altered by parliament. From this time the old hierarchical government was disused, and the kirk was governed by general, provincial, and classical assemblies, with superintendents, though there was no law for it, till some years after.

To return to England. The popish Bishops behaved rudely towards the Queen and her new Bishops. They admonished her Majesty by letter, to return to the religion of her ancestors, and threatened her with the censures of the church if she refused. This not prevailing, the Pope himself exhorted her by letter, to reject evil counsellors, and obey his fatherly admonitions, assuring her, that if she would return to the bosom of the church, he would receive her with like affection, as the father in the gospel received his son. The Nuncio that was sent with this letter, offered in the Pope's name to confirm the English liturgy, to allow of the sacrament in both kinds, and to disannul the sentence against her mother's marriage; but the Queen would not part with her supremacy. Another Nuncio was sent this summer with other proposals, but was stopped in Flanders, and forbid to set foot in the realm. The Emperor and other Roman catholic princes, interceded with the Queen to grant her subjects of their religion permission to keep up a separate communion; but her Majesty was too politic to trust them; upon which they entered on more desperate measures.

Archbishop Parker visited his diocese this summer, and found it in a ~~deplorable~~ condition; the major part of the beneficed clergy being either mechanics or mass priests in disguise; many churches were shut up, and in those that were open, not a sermon was to be heard in some counties within twenty miles; "the people perished for lack of knowledge;" while men who were capable of instructing them were kept out of the church, or denied preferment. But the Queen was not so much concerned for this, as for

maintaining her supremacy; for which purpose his grace by her order, drew up a form of subscription. to be made by all that held any ecclesiastical preferment. With which most who favoured the reformation, as well as great numbers of time-serving priests, complied, but some refused and were deprived. The next thing the Archbishop undertook was, settling the calendar, and the order of lessons to be read throughout the year, which his grace, as one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, procured letters under the great seal to reform. Before this time it had been left to the discretion of the minister to change the chapters appointed, for some others that were more for edification. If this indulgence had been continued, one considerable difficulty to the puritans had been removed, (*viz.*) their obligation to read the apochryphal lessons; and surely there could be no great danger in this, when the minister was confined within the canon of scripture. But this liberty was not long allowed, through the admonition being never legally reversed, Archbishop Abbot was of opinion, that it was in force in his time, and ought to have been indulged the clergy throughout the course of this reign. But the governing Bishops were of another mind, they would trust nothing to the discretion of the minister, nor vary a tittle from the act of uniformity.

Hitherto there were few or no peculiar lessons for holidays and particular Sundays, but the chapters of the Old and New Testament were read in course, without any interruption or variation; so it is in the Common Prayer Book of 1549, folio. In the second edition of that book under Edward the Sixth, there were proper lessons for some few holidays, but none for Sundays; but now there was a table of proper lessons for the whole year. At the end of this Common Prayer Book, there were certain prayers for private and family use, which in the latter editions are either shortened or left out. The design seems to have been, to confine all devotion to the church, and to give no liberty to the clergy or laity; even in their closets or families, to vary from the public forms. An admonition was published at the same time, and set up in all churches, forbidding all parsons under the degree of a master of arts, to preach or expound the scriptures, or to innovate or

alter any thing or use any other rite but only what is set forth by authority; these were only to read the homilies. And as by reason of the scarcity of ministers, the Bishops had admitted into the ministry, artificers, and others not brought up to learning, and some of base occupation, it was now desired, that no more tradesmen should be ordained, till the convocation met, and took some better order in this affair.

But it was impossible to comply with this admonition; for so many churches were vacant, that in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading an homily, for many months together. In sundry parishes it was hard to find persons to baptize or bury the dead; the Bishops therefore were obliged to admit of pluralists, non-residents, civilians; and to ordain such as offered themselves, how meanly soever they were qualified; while others, who had some scruple about conformity, stood by unprovided for; the learned and industrious Mr. Fox the martyrologist was of this number, for in a letter to his friend Dr. Humphreys, he writes thus; "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition, that England received me in, when I first came home out of Germany, nor do I change my degree or order, which is that of the mendicants; or if you will, of the friars preachers." Thus pleasantly did this grave and learned divine reproach the ingratitude of the times. The puritans complained of these hardships to the Queen, but there was no remedy.

The two Universities could give little or no assistance to the reformers; for the professors and tutors being of the popish religion, had trained up the youth in their own principles for the last six or seven years. Some of the heads of colleges were displaced this summer, and protestants put in their room; but it was a long time before they could supply the necessities of the church. There were only three protestant preachers in the University of Oxford in 1563, and they were all puritans; and though by the next year the clergy were so modelled, that the Bishops procured a convocation that favoured the reformation, yet they were such poor scholars that many of them could hardly write their names.

Indeed the reformation went heavily on. The Queen could scarce be persuaded to part with images, or consent to the marriage of the clergy; for she commanded that no head or member of any collegiate or cathedral church, should bring a wife or any other woman within the precincts of it, on pain of forfeiture of all ecclesiastical promotions: And her Majesty would have absolutely forbid the marriage of the clergy, if Secretary Cecil had not briskly interposed. She repented that she had made any married men Bishops; and told the Archbishop in anger, that she intended to publish other injunctions, which his grace understood to be in favour of popery; upon which the Archbishop wrote to the Secretary, that he was sorry the Queen's mind was so turned; but in such a case he should think it his duty to obey God rather than man. Upon the whole, the Queen instead of improving her brother's reformation, often repented she had gone so far.

When her Majesty's second parliament met, a remarkable act was passed, "for assurance of the Queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." It was a confirmation of the act of supremacy. But the Archbishop by the Queen's order wrote to the Bishops, not to tender the oath of supremacy but in case of necessity, and never to press it a second time without his special direction; so that none of the popish Bishops or Divines were burdened with it, except Bonner and one or two more. The convocation was opened at St. Paul's the day after the meeting of parliament. Mr. Day provost of Eaton preached the sermon, and Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, was chosen prolocutor. Her Majesty having directed letters of licence to review the doctrine and discipline of the church, they began with the doctrine, and reduced the forty-two articles of Edward the Sixth, to the number of thirty-nine, as at present.

It has been warmly disputed, whether the first clause of the twentieth article, "the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," was a part of the article which passed the synod, and was afterwards confirmed by parliament. It is certainly not among King Edward's articles; nor is it in that original manuscript of the articles, subscribed by

both houses of convocation with their own hands. It seems more probable that the clause was some way or other surreptitiously inserted by those who were friends of the church's power, than struck out by the puritans, as Laud and his followers have published to the world; for it is hard to suppose, that a foul copy as this is pretended to be, should be so carefully marked and subscribed by every member of the synod with their own hands, and yet not be perfect; but is not improbable that the notary or register, who transcribed the articles into the convocation book, with the names of them that subscribed, might by direction of his superiors privately insert it; and so it might appear in the records, though it was not in the original draught. The controversy is of great moment to the present clergy, because it is certain, the clause was a part of the article confirmed by parliament at the restoration of Charles the Second.

When the articles were concluded, and the subscription finished, all the Bishops subscribed, except Gloucester and Rochester. Of the lower house there are upwards of a hundred hands; but whatever their learning was, many of them wrote so ill, that it is hard to read their names. Among the subscribers are several of the learned exiles, who were dissatisfied with the constitution. But the articles did not pass into a law, and become a part of the establishment, till nine years after, though some of the more rigid Bishops of the ecclesiastical commission insisted upon subscription from this time.

The next considerable affair that came under debate, was the rites and ceremonies of the church. And several papers were presented to the lower house, including most of the articles which afterwards formed the ground of their separation from the church.

When these articles were debated, the majority of those present were for approving them, but when the proxies were counted, the scale was turned; and by the majority of one single voice, and that not a person present to hear the debates, it was determined to make no alteration in the ceremonies, nor any abatements of the present establishment, although the names of the persons who subscribed for a further reformation were numerous and considerable for learning and ability.

How shameful was the treatment of the puritans at this period, that when such considerable abatement had been made in favour of the Roman catholics, nothing should be indulged to those of the same faith, and who had suffered in the same cause with themselves, especially when the controversy was about points which one party apprehended to be sinful, and the other acknowledged to be indifferent. Sundry other papers and petitions were drawn up, by the lower house of convocation, in favour of a further reformation, but nothing passed into a law.

The church having carried their point against the puritans in convocation, we are now to see what use they made of their victory. The plague being in London and several parts of the country this summer, put a little stop to their zeal for uniformity; some were indulged, but none preferred, who scrupled the habits. In proof of this, we may produce the examples of two of the worthiest and most learned divines of the age; one was father Coverdate, formerly Bishop of Exeter, who with Tyndal and Rogers first translated the Bible into English after Wickliffe, This prelate was born in Yorkshire, and bred at Cambridge: and was made Bishop of Exeter, 1551. Upon the accession of Mary he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped the fire; but by the intercession of the King of Denmark, was sent over into that country; and coming back at her death, assisted at the consecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury; yet because he could not comply with the ceremonies and habits, he was neglected, and had no preferment. This reverend man being now old and poor, Grindal, Bishop of London gave him the small living of St. Magnus at the bridge foot, where he preached quietly about two years; but not coming up to the conformity required, he was persecuted, and obliged to relinquish his parish a little before his death, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was a celebrated preacher, admitted and followed by all the puritans; but the act of uniformity brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

The other was that venerable man John Fox, the martyrologist, a grave, learned, and laborious divine, and exile for religion, who employed his time abroad,

in writing the acts and monuments of that church, which would hardly receive him into her bosom; and in collecting materials relating to the Martyrdom of those that suffered for religion, in the reigns of Henry Eighth, and Mary; all which he published first in Latin, for the benefit of foreigners, and then in English, for the service of his own country. No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this; it was dedicated to the Queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the churches; where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion, which had shed so much innocent blood. Elizabeth had a particular esteem for Fox; but though reduced to very great poverty and want, he had no preferment in the church, because he scrupled the habits, till at length, by the intercession of some great friend, he obtained a prebend in the church of Sarum, which he made a shift to hold to his death, though not without some disturbance from the bishops.

The parochial clergy both in city and country had an aversion to the habits; they wore them sometimes in obedience to the law, but more frequently administered without them; for which some were cited into the spiritual courts, and admonished, the bishops not having yet assumed the courage, of proceeding to suspension and deprivation. At length the matter was laid before the Queen; and it was represented, that some perform divine service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the book, some intermix psalms in metre; some say with a surplice, and others without one. That the table stands in the body of the church in some places, in others it stands in the chancel; in some places the table stands altarwise, distant from the wall a yard; in others in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some the table has a carpet, in others none.—That some administer the communion with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none; some with chalice, others with a communion cup;

others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened.—That some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, some in a bason; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat; some in scholars cloaths, some in others.

Her majesty was highly displeased with this report, and especially that her laws were so little regarded; she therefore directed a letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to confer with the bishops of the ecclesiastical commission, and to enquire what diversities there were among the clergy in doctrine, rites, and ceremonies, and to take effectual methods, that an exact uniformity be maintained, in all external rites and ceremonies, as by law and good usages are provided for; and that none hereafter be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment, but who is well disposed to common order, and shall formally promise to comply with it. To give countenance to this strictness, it was reported that some of the warmer puritans had turned the habits into ridicule, and used unhandsome language to those that wore them; which according to Strype, was the occasion of their being pressed afterwards, with so much rigour: but whatever gave occasion to the persecution that followed, or whoever was at the head of it, supposing the insinuation to be just, it was very hard that so great a number of useful ministers, who neither censured their brethren, nor abused their indulgence, should be turned out of their benefices, for the indiscretion of a few. The bishops in their letters to the foreign divines, had promised, not to urge their brethren in these things, and when opportunity served to seek reformation of them; but now they took themselves to be released from their promises, and set at liberty by the Queen's express command to the contrary; their meaning being, that they would not do it of their own accord.

The puritans and their friends foreseeing the storm, did what they could to avert it. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham wrote to the Earl of Leicester to use his interest

with the Queen in their behalf. He said that compulsion should not be used in things of liberty. He prayed the earl to consider, how all reformed countries had cast away popish apparel, with the pope, and yet we contend to keep it as an holy relic. That many ministers would rather leave their livings than comply; and the realm had a great scarcity of teachers; many places being destitute of any.—That it would give incurable offence to foreign protestants, and since we had forsook popery as wicked, he did not see how their apparel could become saints and professors of the gospel.—Whittingham dean of Durham wrote to the same purpose, as did others, who dreaded the consequences of imposing that as necessary, which at best was only indifferent, and in the opinion of many wise and learned men superstitious; and all made what friends they could among the courtiers.

The nobility were divided, and the Queen herself seemed to be at a stand, but the archbishop spirited her forward; and having received her Majesty's letter, authorizing him to proceed, he entered upon his work with vigour and resolution. The bishops Jewel and Horn preached at Paul's cross to reconcile people to the habits. Jewel said, he did not come to defend them, but to shew, that they were indifferent, and might be complied with. Horn went a little further, and wished those cut off from the church, that troubled it about white or black garments, round or square caps. The puritans were not allowed to preach against the habits, but they expostulated with the bishops, and told them, that in their opinions, those ought rather to be cut off, which stopped the course of the gospel, and that grieved and offended their weak brethren, by urging remnants of antichrist more than God's commandments, and by punishing the refusers of them more extremely, than the breakers of God's laws.

The archbishop, with the bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, framed sundry articles to enforce the habits, which were afterwards published under the title of Advertisements. But when his grace brought them to court, the Queen refused to give them her sanction. The archbishop chafed at the disappointment, said that the court had put him upon framing the advertisements; and

if they would not go on, they had better never have done any thing ; nay, if the council would not lend their helping hand against the non-conformists, as they had done heretofore in Hooper's days, they should only be laughed at for all they had done. But still the Queen was so cold, that when the Bishop of London came to court, she spoke not a word to him about redressing the neglect of conformity, in the city of London, where it was most disregarded. Upon which the Archbishop applied to the secretary, desiring another letter from the Queen, to back their endeavours for conformity, adding in some heat, " If you remedy it not by letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will."

Not one of the first set of Bishops after the reformation, approved of the habits, or argued for their continuance from scripture, antiquity, or decency, but submitted to them out of necessity, and to keep the church in the Queen's favour. How much are the times altered ! Our first reformers never ascribed any holiness or virtue to the vestments, but wished and prayed for their removal ; whereas several modern conformists have made them essential to their ministrations, and have represented religion as naked and defective without them.

Though the reformation in Scotland was not fully established, yet the superintendent ministers, and commissioners of charges within that realm, directed a letter the very first opportunity, " To their brethren the Bishops, and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." This letter does not enter into the debate, whether the habits are simply indifferent or not ; but pleads in a most earnest and pathetic manner for toleration and forbearance, and that the deprived ministers may be restored. If surplice, corner-cap and tippet, say they, have been badges of idolatry, what have the preachers of christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish beast ? Our brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, nor molest you, that use such vain trifles. If ye shall do the like by them, we doubt not but you will therein please God, and comfort the hearts of

many. It was the unanimous opinion of the foreign divines, that the habits ought to be laid aside by authority; and that in the mean time, they should not be urged upon those that scrupled them: but they were not so well agreed in the lawfulness of wearing them till they were taken away; though their fears of the return of popery, if the ministers should desert their stations; their compassion to the souls of the people, who were perishing for lack of knowledge; and their hopes, that the Queen would quickly be prevailed with to remove them; made most of them apprehend, they might be dispensed with for the present.

The English laity were more averse to the habits than the clergy; as their hatred of popery increased, so did their aversion to the garments. There was a strong party in the very court against them. But the protestant populace throughout the nation, were so inflamed, that nothing but an awful subjection to authority could have kept them within bounds. Great numbers refused to frequent those places of worship, where service was ministered in that dress; they would not salute such ministers in the streets, nor keep them company; nay, if we may believe Whitgift, in his defence against Cartwright, "They spit in their faces, reviled them as they went along, and shewed such like rude behaviour," because they took them for papists in disguise, for time-servers, and half-faced protestants, that would be content with the return of that religion whose badge they wore. There was indeed a warm spirit in the people, against every thing which came from that pretended church, whose garments had been so lately dyed with the blood of their friend and relations. Upon the whole, I leave the reader to determine, how far the wisdom and moderation of the Queen can be vindicated, in imposing these habits on the clergy; or the Bishops be excused for imprisoning, suspending, and depriving, some of the most useful preachers in the Kingdom, on account of things which in their own opinion were but barely tolerable; and in the judgment of their brethren were absolutely sinful.

We have already mentioned the Queen's letter, in obedience to which Archbishop Parker wrote to his brethren of the ecclesiastical commission, and in particular to Grindal, Bishop of London, there being in that city the greatest number of clergy, and of the best learning, that refused the apparel, to consult proper methods, to reduce them to an exact uniformity. After some debate, the commissioners agreed upon certain ADVERTISEMENTS, as they were called, partly for due order in preaching and administering the sacraments; and partly for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical.

But here the commissioners surely broke through the act of submission, by which they are obliged, never to make or execute any canons or constitutions, without the royal assent. But the Bishops presumed upon their interest with her Majesty; they knew her mind, though she refused, for political reasons, to ratify their advertisements, telling them that the oath of canonical obedience was sufficient, to bind the inferior clergy to their duty, without the interposition of the crown. Parker therefore went on; and having cited the puritan clergy to Lambeth, admonished some, and threatened others: but Grindal withdrew, being naturally averse to methods of severity, and afraid of a *præmunire*; his grace took a great deal of pain to gain him over, and by his arguments (says Strype) brought him to a good resolution. He also applied to the council for the Queen's and their assistance; and to the secretary of state, beseeching him to spirit up the Bishop of London to his duty, which was done accordingly. What pains will some men take to draw their brethren into a snare, and force them to be partners in oppression and cruelty!

Among those whom the Archbishop cited before him, were Mr. T. Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Humphreys, president of Magdalen College, Oxon; men of high renown throughout the nation, for learning, piety, and zeal for the reformation; and both exiles for religion in Queen Mary's reign. Upon their appearance, the Archbishop urged them with the opinions of Bucer and Martyr; but the authority of these divines, not being sufficient to remove their scruples, they were ordered

not to depart the city, without leave. After long attendance, and many checks from some of the council for their refractoriness, they framed a supplicatory letter in a very elegant but submissive style, and sent it to the Archbishop, and the rest of the ecclesiastical commissioners. In which they protest before God, what a bitter grief it was to them, that there should be such dissensions about a cap and surplice, among persons of the same faith. They allege the authorities of St. Austin, Socrates, and Theodoret, to shew that in their times, there was a variety of rites and observances which break not unity and concord. They beseech the Bishops therefore, "If there was any fellowship in Christ," that they would follow the direction of St. Paul about things in their own nature indifferent, "that every one should be persuaded in his own mind." Conscience, say they, is a tender thing, and all men cannot look upon the same things as indifferent; if therefore these habits seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; on the other hand, if they do not appear so to us, we ought not to be vexed by you. They then appeal to antiquity, to the practice of other reformed churches, and to the consciences of the Bishops themselves; and conclude thus.—Wherefore we most humbly pray, that a thing which is the care and pleasure of papists, and which you have no great value for yourselves, and which we refuse not from any contempt of authority, but from an aversion to the common enemy, may not be our snare nor our crime.

Some of the reasons they urged against wearing and enforcing the habits, were these; 1. Apparel ought to be worn as meat ought to be eat; but according to Paul, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten, therefore popish apparel ought not to be worn. 2. We ought not to give offence in matters of mere indifference, therefore the Bishops who are of this opinion, ought not to enforce the habits. 3. Popish garments have many superstitious mystical significations, for which purpose they are consecrated by the papists; we ought therefore to consecrate them also, or lay them wholly aside. 4. Our ministrations are supposed by some not to be valid; or

acceptable to God, unless performed in popish apparel; and this being a prevailing opinion, we apprehend it highly necessary to disabuse the people. 5. Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their nature, and we lose our christian liberty. 6. If we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to make use of oil, spittle, cream, and all the rest of the papistical additions, to the ordinances of Christ.

The ecclesiastical commissioners were very much divided in their opinions, how to proceed with these men. Some were for answering their reasons, and for enforcing the habits with a protestation, that they wished them taken away. Others were for connivance; and others for a compromise; accordingly a pacific proposition was drawn up, which Humphreys and Sampson were willing to subscribe, with the reserve of the apostle, "all things are lawful, but all things edify not." But the Archbishop who was at the head of the commission, would abate nothing; for he told them peremptorily in open Court, that they should conform to the habits; or part with their preferments. To which our divines replied, that their consciences could not comply, be the event what it might. Upon this they were both put under confinement; but the storm fell chiefly upon Sampson, who was detained in prison a considerable time, as a terror to others; and by a special order from the Queen, was deprived of his deanery; nor could he ever obtain, after this, any higher preferment in the church, than the government of a poor hospital.

Humphrey's place was not at the Queen's disposal; however he durst not return to Oxford, even after he had obtained his release out of prison, but retired to one Mrs. Warcup's in Berkshire, a most devout woman, who had run all hazards for harbouring the persecuted protestants in the late times: from hence he wrote a most excellent letter to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty's favour about the habits: and he made so many friends at Court, that at length he obtained a toleration, but had no preferment in the church till ten or twelve years after, when he was persuaded to wear the habits. For although the

Bishop of Winchester presented him to a small living within the diocese of Salisbury, Jewel refused to admit him, and said he was determined to abide by his resolution, till he had good assurance of his conformity. The Oxford historian says, Humphreys was a moderate, conscientious nonconformist, a great and general scholar, an able linguist, a deep divine; and that for his excellency of style, exactness of method, and substance of matter in his writings, he went beyond most of our Theologists.

As Sampson was thus deprived, so were others who would not enter into bonds to wear the square cap. Of this number was George Withers, a man of good learning, preached at Bury St. Edmunds: but at the pressing instances of the people, he sent a letter to the Archbishop to let him know, he would rather strain his conscience a little, than discourage the godly, or let the wicked have their mind. He afterwards preached at Cambridge, and pressed the University to destroy the superstitious paintings in the glass windows, which occasioned some disorder; upon which, not long after, he travelled to Geneva, Zurich, and other places, and after some years, returned and became parish minister of Danbury in Essex, submitting to the rites for peace sake, though he did not approve of them, which was the case of many others.

While the case of the Oxford divines was under consideration, his grace was consulting how to reduce the London puritans: he was afraid to press them with the advertisements, because the Queen could not be prevailed with to put the seal to them; he therefore sent them again to the secretary with a letter to the Queen, praying, that if not all, yet at least those articles that related to the apparel, might be returned with some authority. But the Queen was firm to her former resolution; she would give no authority to the advertisements; but to support her commissioners issued a proclamation, peremptorily requiring uniformity in the habits, on pain of prohibition from preaching, and deprivation.

Hereupon the Archbishop consulted with men learned in the civil law, what method to proceed in; and then concluded with the consent of the rest of the commis-

sioners, to summons the whole body of pastors and curates, within the city of London, to appear at Lambeth, and to examine every one of them upon this question, whether they would promise conformity to the apparel established by law, and testify the same by subscription of their hands? Those who demurred were immediately to be suspended, and after three months deprived of their livings. To prepare the way for this general citation, it was thought proper, first to summon Fox, the martyrologist, that the reputation of his great piety, might give the greater countenance to the proceedings of the commissioners; but when they called upon him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, to this I will subscribe. And when they offered him the canons, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you take it from me." But the commissioners had not courage enough to deprive a divine of so much merit, who held up the ashes of Smithfield before their eyes.

On the day appointed for the appearance of the London clergy, the Archbishop desired the Secretary of State, with some of the nobility and Queen's council, to countenance the proceedings of the commissioners with their presence, but they refused to be concerned in such disagreeable work. When the ministers appeared in Court, Mr. Cole a clergyman, being placed by the side of the commissioners in priestly apparel, the bishop's chancellor from the bench, addressed them in these words: "My masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet; and in the church a linen surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write *volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *nolo*: be brief, make no words."—When some of the clergy offered to speak he interrupted them, and cried, peace, peace. Apparitor call over the churches, and ye masters answer presently *sub pœna contemptus*. Great was the anguish and distress of those ministers, who cried out for compassion to themselves and families, saying, "We shall be

killed in our souls for this pollution of ours." After much persuasion and many threatenings, sixty-one out of a hundred, were prevailed with to subscribe, and thirty-seven absolutely refused; of which last number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were the best, and some preachers. These were immediately suspended, from the ministry, with signification, that if they did not conform within three months, they were to be deprived. The Archbishop imagined that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous, but contrary to his expectations it was quiet, and modest.

To the reasons they assigned to justify their rejection of the popish habits, and every thing else that was offered, from the danger of the reformation, and the ruin of so many poor families; the commissioners replied, it was not their business to argue and debate, but to execute the Queen's injunctions. Parker seemed pleased with the resolution of his chancellor, and said, that he did not doubt, when the ministers had felt the smart of poverty, they would comply; for the wood (says he) is yet but green. He declared further, that he was fully bent to go through with the work he had begun; and the rather, because the Queen would have him try with his own authority, what he could do for order. This raised his ambition, and put him upon soliciting the Secretary of State by letter for his countenance; in one of which he tells him, that if he was not better backed, there would be fewer Winchesters, as is desired, referring to Stephen Gardiner, the bloody persecuting Bishop of Winchester in Mary's reign; "but for my part, says he, so that my prince may win honour, I will be very gladly the rock of offence; since the Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me." These were the weapons, and this the language, of one whom Mr. Strype calls the mild and gentle Archbishop!

The non-conformists had juster thoughts of him: he was at the head of all their sufferings, and pushed them with unrelenting vigour. The Queen might have been softened; the Secretary of State and courtiers declared they could not keep peace with him; Grindal relented, and the Bishop of Durham declared he would rather lay down

his bishopric, than suffer such proceedings in his diocese. But Parker was above these reproaches, and instead of relaxing, framed such injunctions for the London clergy, as had never been heard of in a protestant kingdom, or a free government. The commissioners obliged every clergyman that had cure of souls to swear obedience to all the Queen's injunctions and letters patent; to all letters from the lords of the privy council; to the articles and injunctions of their metropolitan; to the articles and mandates of their bishop, archdeacon, chancellors, &c. And in a word, to be subject to the controul of all their superiors with patience. To gird these injunctions close upon the puritans, there were appointed in every parish, four or eight censors, spies, or jurats, to take cognizance of all offences given or taken. These were under oath, enjoined to take particular notice of the conformity of the clergy and of the parishioners, and to give in their presentments when required; so that it was impossible for an honest puritan to escape the high commission.

By these methods of severity, religion and virtue were discountenanced for the sake of their pretended ornaments; the consciences of good men were entangled, and the reformation exposed to the utmost hazard. Many churches were shut up in the city of London for want of ministers, to the grief of all good men, and the inexpressible pleasure of the papists, who rejoiced to see the reformers weakening their own hands, by silencing such numbers of the most useful and popular preachers, while the country was in distress for want of them. Bishop Sandys in one of his sermons before the Queen some years after, tells her Majesty, that many of her people, especially in the northern parts, perished for want of saving food. Many there are, says he, that hear not a sermon in seven years, I might safely say in seventeen: their blood will be required at somebody's hands.

But to make thorough work with the refusers of the habits, the Archbishop called in all licences, according to the advertisements, and appointed all preachers throughout his whole province, to take out new ones; this was to reach those who were neither incumbents, nor curates in parishes, but lecturers, or occasional preachers. All

parsons and curates were forbid to suffer any to preach in their churches, upon any former licences given by the Archbishop; and such as took out new licences, bound themselves for the future, not to disturb the public establishment, or vary from it. And because some when they had been discharged from their ministry in one diocese for non-conformity, got a settlement in another, it was now appointed that such curates as came out of other dioceses, should not be allowed to preach, without letters testimonial from the ordinary where they last served. But those puritans who could not with a good conscience take out new licences, kept their old ones, and made the best use of them they could.

There was still one door of entrance into the ministry left open to the puritans, which the Archbishop used all his interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a privilege granted the University of Cambridge by Pope Alexander the Sixth, to licence twelve ministers yearly, to preach any where throughout England, without obtaining licences from any of the Bishops. But the Archbishop sent to Secretary Cecil their chancellor, praying him to set aside this practice. 1. Because the present licences varied from the original bull, being given out by the vice-chancellor; whereas they ought to be in the name of the chancellor only. 2. Because it was unreasonable to give licences for life; whereas they ought to be only during our pleasure, or as long as they behave well. 3. But that which troubled the Archbishop most, was the clause that infringed on his own and his brethren's jurisdiction, that they might preach without a licence from any of the Bishops. This was thought insufferable; the vice-chancellor therefore was sent for to town, to defend the privilege of the University, which he did to the satisfaction of the chancellor; but the Archbishop was so angry, that he declared he would not admit any of their licences, without the chancellor's name; nor could he imagine, that the vice-chancellor, by his pretended experience and skill in the civil law, could inform his honour of any thing, that he was not capable of answering. But here his grace met with a disappointment, for the University retained their privilege, and made use of it to the relief of the puritans.

In the Queen's progress this year, her Majesty visited the University of Cambridge, and continued there five days, being entertained by the scholars, with speeches and disputations. On the third day of her being there, a philosophy act was kept by Thomas Byng, of Peterhouse, on these two questions. 1. Whether monarchy be not the best form of government? 2. Whether frequent alterations of the laws are dangerous? The opponents were Mr. Cartwright, of Trinity College, Mr. Chaderton, of Queen's; Messrs. Preston and Clark, of King's College, who performed their parts to the satisfaction of the Queen, and the whole audience; but it seems Preston pleased her Majesty best, and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a salary. The divinity questions were, 1. Whether the authority of the scripture is greater than that of the church? Whether the civil magistrate has authority in ecclesiastical affairs? These were the tests of the times. At the close of the disputation, the Queen made a short and elegant oration in latin, encouraging the scholars to pursue their studies, with a promise of her countenance and protection.

But this learned body was soon after thrown into confusion, by the controversy of the habits, especially of the surplice. Longworth, master of St. John's being absent from his college, the students came to chapel on a festival day, without their hoods and surplices, to the number of three hundred, and continued to do so for some time; the master making no complaint, nor attempting to recover them to uniformity. In Trinity College all except three, declared against the surplice, and many in other colleges were ready to follow their example. The news of this being sent to court, it was easy to foresee an impending storm: several members of the University wrote to the secretary, humbly beseeching his intercession with the Queen, that they might not be forced to receive a popish ceremony, which they had laid aside; assuring him that nothing but reason, and conscience, had induced them to do as they had done. But Cecil sent them an angry answer, admonishing them to return quietly to the habits, as they had used them before. He also wrote to the vice-chancellor, requiring him to call together the heads of the colleges and

let them know, that as they tendered the **HONOUR OF GOD**, the preservation of christian unity, the reputation of the University, the favour of the Queen, and his own good will they should continue the use of the habits.

The heads of colleges being sensible of the risk the University would run of being disfurnished of students, if the habits were pressed, applied again to the chancellor Cecil, to intercede with the Queen for a dispensation. But this was highly resented at Court, and Longworth, master of St. John's was sent for before the commissioners, and obliged to sign a recantation, and read it in the church; the rest made their peace by letters of submission. All the heads of colleges were commanded to assist the vice-chancellor, in bringing the scholars to an uniformity in the habits, which nevertheless they could not accomplish for many years. Whitgift seeing which way the tide of preferment ran, drew his pen in defence of the hierarchy in all its branches, and became a most potent advocate for the habits. But the University of Cambridge was still a sanctuary for the puritans.

To return to the puritan clergy. Crowley, the suspended minister of Cripplegate, seeing a corpse coming to be buried at his church, attended with clerks in their surplices singing before it, threatened to shut the church doors against them; but the singing men resisted, resolving to go through with their work, till the alderman's deputy threatened to lay them by the heels for breaking the peace; upon which they shrunk away, but complained to the Archbishop, who sending for Crowley, deprived him of his living, and confined him to his house, for saying, "he would not suffer the wolf to come to his flock." He also bound the deputy in a hundred pounds, to be ready when he should be called for. Crowley was a learned man, and had been an exile in Queen Mary's days, he was very diligent in disputing against certain priests in the Tower, and took a great deal of pains, to bring them over to their allegiance to the Queen from the unlawfulness of deposing princes, upon any pretence whatsoever. He writ divers learned books, died a nonconformist, and was buried in the church of Cripplegate.

Among the deprived ministers, some betook themselves

to the study of physic, and other secular employments; some went into Scotland, or beyond sea; others got to be chaplains in gentlemen's families; but many who had large families were reduced to beggary. Many churches were shut up, and the people ready to mutiny for want of ministers. Six hundred persons came to a church in London, to receive the communion on Palm Sunday, but the doors were shut, there being none to officiate. The cries of the people reached the court; the Secretary wrote to the Archbishop to supply the churches, and release the prisoners; but his grace was inexorable, and had rather the people should have no sermons or sacraments, than have them without the surplice and cap.

But Grindal, Bishop of London, was weary of the unpleasant work; and having a real concern to promote the preaching of the word of God, he would not act against the ministers, otherwise than as he was pushed forwards; and when the eyes of his superiors were turned another way, he would relax again. When the Secretary and Archbishop sent to him to provide for his charge, and fill up the vacant pulpits; he told them it was impossible, there being no preachers; all he could do was to supply the churches by turns, which was far from stopping the murmurs of the people.

This was the sad condition of the city of London; the very bread of life being taken from the people, for the sake of a few ceremonies. And if it was thus in the city, how much worse must it be in those distant countries, where her Majesty's injunctions were rigidly executed? And yet with all this rigour, it was not in the power of the Queen and her Bishops, to reconcile the clergy and common people to the habits. The Queen herself was in earnest, and her Archbishop went into the most servile measures, to fulfil her commands, the high commission was furious, but the council were backward to countenance their proceedings.

All applications to the Queen, and her commissioners being ineffectual, the suspended ministers thought it their duty to lay their case before the world; accordingly they published a small treatise this year, in vindication of their conduct, entitled, "a declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's word and sacrament in the city

of London, which have refused to wear the upper apparel, and ministering garments of the Pope's church." Other Pamphlets were also published in defence of the suspended ministers, which the Bishops appointed their chaplains to answer: and they likewise printed some new testimonies of foreign divines without their consent, with a collection of tracts on obedience to the magistrate and Melancthon's exposition of Rom. xiii. 1. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From whence they conclude, that because things are barely tolerable, though offensive, dangerous, and in their own opinions, to be removed out of the church, as soon as an opportunity shall offer, yet in the mean time they may be imposed under the penalties of suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment. The puritans replied to all these attempts of their adversaries; their tracts were eagerly sought after, and had a wide spread among the people; upon which the commissioners had recourse to their last remedy, which was the further restraint of the press. They complained to the council, that notwithstanding the Queen's injunctions, the differences in the church were kept open by the printing and publishing of seditious libels; and hereupon they procured a decree of the star-chamber, to abridge the liberty of the press.

The puritans being thus foreclosed, by sequestrations, imprisonments, the taking away of their licences to preach, and the restraint of the press, most of them were at a loss how to behave, being unwilling to separate from a church, where the word and sacraments were truly administered, though defiled with popish superstitions; and continued preaching as they had opportunity, and could be dispensed with for the habits, though some were excluded all parochial preferment. But there were great numbers of the common people, who abhorred the habits as much as the ministers, and would not frequent the churches where they were used, thinking it as unlawful to countenance such superstitions with their presence, as if they themselves were to put on the garments. These were distressed where to hear; some staid without the church till service was over, and the minister was entering upon his prayer before sermon; others flocked after

father Coverdale, who preached without the habits; but being turned out of his church at St. Magnus, London-Bridge, they were obliged to send to his house on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him the next day: the government took umbrage at this; and he durst not inform them any more of his preaching, for fear of offending his superiors. At length, after having waited about eight weeks, to see if the Queen would have compassion on them, several of the deprived ministers had a solemn consultation with their friends, in which after prayer, and a serious debate about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the established church, they came to this agreement:—That since they could not have the word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered without idolatrous geare, as they called it, and since there had been a separate congregation in London, and another at Geneva, in Queen Mary's time, which used a book and order of preaching, administration of sacraments and discipline, that the great Mr. Calvin had approved of, and which was free from the superstitious of the English service; that therefore it was their duty in their present circumstances, to break off from the public churches, and to assemble, as they had opportunity, in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences. Had the use of habits and a few ceremonies been left discretionary, both ministers and people had been easy; but it was COMPELLING THESE THINGS BY LAW, as they told the Archbishop, that made them separate.

It was debated among them, whether they should use as much of the common prayer and service of the church as was not offensive, or resolve at once, since they were cut off from the Church of England, to set up the purest and best form of worship, most consonant to the holy scriptures, and to the practice of the foreign reformers; the latter of these was concluded upon, and accordingly they laid aside the English liturgy, and made use of the Geneva service book.

Here was the æra or date of the SEPARATION. The breach might easily have been made up at first, but it widened by degrees; the passions of the contending

parties increased, till the fire, which for some years was burning under ground, broke out into a civil war, and with unspeakable fury destroyed the constitution both of church and state.

I leave the reader to judge at whose door the beginnings of these sorrows are to be laid, each party casting the blame on the other. The conformists charged the deprived ministers with disobedience to the Queen, with obstinacy, preciseness, and with breaking the peace of the church for matters of no consequence to salvation. The ministers, on the other hand, thought it cruel usage to be turned out of the church for things which their adversaries acknowledged to be of mere indifference; whereas they took it upon their consciences, and were ready to aver in the most solemn manner, that they deemed them unlawful. They complied as far as they could with the establishment, while they were in it, using as much of the liturgy as was not offensive, and taking the oath of supremacy; they were as dutiful subjects to the Queen as the Bishops, and declared themselves ready to obey in all things lawful; and when they could not obey, patiently to suffer her displeasure. After all this, to impute the behaviour of the nonconformists to obstinacy and peevishness, was very uncharitable. What could move them to part with their livings, or support them under the loss, but the testimony of a good conscience? When they could not be sensible, their nonconformity would be followed with poverty and disgrace, with the loss of their characters and usefulness in the church, and with numberless calamities to themselves and families, unless it should please God to soften the Queen's heart in their favour.

In Scotland all things were in confusion. The young Queen Mary, after the death of her husband Francis the Second, returned into her own country, upon ill terms with Elizabeth, who could not brook her assuming the arms of England, and putting in her claim to the crown, on the pretence of her bastardy, which most of the popish powers maintained, because she was born during the life of Queen Catharine, whose marriage had been declared valid by the pope. Elizabeth offered her a safe conduct,

if she would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; but she chose rather to run all risks than submit. Mary was a bigotted papist, and her juvenile amours and follies soon entangled her government, and lost her crown. As soon as she arrived in Scotland, she had the mortification to see the whole nation turned protestant, and the reformation established by laws so secure and strict, that only herself was allowed the liberty of mass in her own chapel, and that without pomp, or ostentation. The protestants of Scotland, by the preaching of Knox, and others, having imbibed the strongest aversion to popery, were for removing at the greatest distance from its superstitions. The general assembly petitioned her Majesty, to ratify the acts of parliament for abolishing the mass, and for obliging all her subjects to frequent the reformed worship. But she replied, that she saw no impiety in the mass, and was determined not to quit the religion in which she was educated, being satisfied it was founded on the word of God. To which the general assembly answered a little coarsely, that turcism stood upon as good ground as popery; and then required her in the name of the eternal God, to inform herself better, by frequenting sermons, and conferring with learned men: but her Majesty gave no ear to their counsels.

In the year 1564, the Queen married Lord Darnley, who was joined with her in the government. By him she was brought to bed of a son, afterwards James the First, King of England; and while she was with child of him, she received a fright by her husband's coming into her chamber with his servants, and putting to death her favourite David Rizzo, an Italian musician, who was sitting with her at table. This was said to have such an influence upon the prince, who was born of her, that he never loved the sight of a sword. Soon after this, the King himself was found murdered in a Garden, the house in which the murder was committed, being blown up with Gun-powder, to prevent the discovery. Upon the King's death, the Earl of Bothwell became the Queen's favourite, and as soon as he had obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, she took him into her marriage-bed, to her very great infamy and the regret of the whole Scots nation, who

took up arms to revenge the late King's murder, and dissolve the present incestuous marriage. When the two armies were ready to engage, Bothwel fled to Dunbar; and the Queen being apprehensive her soldiers would not fight in such an infamous cause, surrendered herself to the confederates, who shut her up in the castle of Lochleven, and obliged her to resign the crown to her young son, under the regency of the Earl of Murray: from hence she made her escape into England, where she was detained prisoner by Elizabeth almost eighteen years, and then put to death. Bothwel turned pirate, and being taken by the Danes, was shut up for ten years in a noisome prison in Denmark, till he lost his senses and died mad.

The Earl of Murray being Regent of Scotland, convened a parliament and assembly at Edinburgh, in which the Pope's authority was again discharged, and the act of parliament for renouncing the jurisdiction of Rome, was confirmed, and all acts passed in former reigns, for the support of popish idolatry, were annulled. The new confession of faith was ratified, and protestant ministers, and those of their communion, declared to be the only true and holy kirk within that realm. The examination and admission of ministers, is declared to be only in the power and disposition of the church; with a saving clause for lay-patrons. By another act, the Kings at their coronation for the future, are to take an oath to maintain the reformed religion, then professed: and by another, none but such as profess the reformed religion, are capable of being judges or proctors, or of practising in any of the courts of justice; except those who held offices hereditary, or for life.

The general assembly declared their approbation of the discipline of the reformed churches of Geneva and Switzerland; and for a parity among ministers, in opposition to the claim of the Bishops as a superior order. All church affairs were managed by provincial, classical, and national assemblies; but these acts of the general assembly, not being confirmed by parliament, episcopal government was not legally abolished, but tacitly suspended till the King came of age. However, the general as-

sembly shewed their power of the keys at this time, by deposing the Bishop of Orkney for marrying the Queen to Bothwel, who was supposed to have murdered the late King; and by making the Countess of Argyle do penance for assisting at the ceremony.

CHAP. V.



ELIZABETH.

Puritans' objections against the Hierarchy of the Church.—Sufferings of the Puritans.—Dangerous state of the Reformation.—Bishops' Bible.—Popish confederacy.—The Queen excommunicated and her Subjects absolved from their allegiance by a Popish Bull.—Proceedings of Spiritual Courts.—Cartwright's opposition.—Proceedings in Parliament for Reformation.—Bishop Jewel's death.—Death of Mr. White.—Puritans suspended.—Application of the Puritans to Parliament.—Cartwright's controversy with Whitgift.—First Presbytery at Wandsworth.—Growth of Popery.—Sad state of Religion.—Massacre at Paris.—Death of John Knox.—Persecution.—Ministers deprived.—Mr. White's examination.—Death of Parkhurst.—A sham Plot.—Reformation of Guernsey and Jersey.—State of Popery.—Family of Love.—Death of Archbishop Parker.

THOUGH all the puritans of these times, would have remained within the church, might they have been indulged in the habits and a few ceremonies, yet they were far from being satisfied with the HIERARCHY. They had other objections besides those for which they were deprived. and which they laboured incessantly to remove. *First*, They complained of the BISHOPS affecting to be thought a superior order, and claiming the sole right of ordination, and of ecclesiastical discipline. They disliked the temporal dignities annexed to their office, and

their engaging in secular employments, as tending to exalt them too much above their brethren, and not so agreeable to their characters as ministers of Christ, nor consistent with the due discharge of their spiritual function. *Secondly*, They excepted to the titles and offices of archdeacons, deans chapters, and other officials belonging to cathedrals as having no foundation in scripture. *Thirdly*, they complained of the exorbitant power and jurisdiction of the bishops and their chancellors in their spiritual courts, as derived from the canon law of the pope, and not from the word of God, or the statute law of the land. They complained of their fining, imprisoning, depriving, and putting men to excessive charges for small offences ; and that the highest censures, such as excommunication and absolution, were in the hands of laymen, and not in the spiritual officers of the church. *Fourthly*, They lamented the want of a godly discipline, and were uneasy at the promiscuous and general access of all persons to the Lord's table. The church being described in her articles as a congregation of faithful persons, they thought it necessary, that a power should be lodged somewhere, to enquire into the qualifications of such as desired to be of her communion. *Fifthly*, Though they did not dispute the lawfulness of set forms of prayer, provided a due liberty was allowed for prayers of their own, before and after sermon ; yet they disliked some things in the public liturgy ; as the frequent repetition of the Lord's prayer ; the interruption of the prayers, by the frequent responses of the people, which in some places seem to be little better than vain repetitions, and are practised in no other protestant church in the world. They excepted to some passages in the offices of marriage and burial, &c. which they very unwillingly complied with ; as in the office of marriage, " with my body I thee worship ;" and in the office of burial, in sure and " certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," to be pronounced over the worst of men, unless in a very few excepted cases. *Sixthly*, They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the church ; and though they did not disapprove the homilies, they thought that no man ought to be ordained a minister in the church, who was incapable of preaching. One of their great complaints therefore, throughout the course of this reign was, that there were so many

dumb ministers, pluralists, and non-residents; and that presentations to benefices were in the hands of the Queen, Bishops, or lay-patrons, when they ought to arise from the election of the people. *Seventhly*, They disapproved of the observation of sundry of the church festivals or holidays. We have no example, say they, in the Old or New Testament, of any days appointed in commemoration of saints; and to observe the fast in Lent of Friday and Saturday, &c. is unlawful and superstitious. *Eighthly*, They disallowed of the cathedral mode of worship; of singing their prayers, and chaunting the psalms, which the ecclesiastical commissioners in Edward the Sixth's time advised the laying aside. Nor did they approve of musical instruments, which were not in use in the church for above one thousand two hundred years after Christ.

Finally they scrupled conformity to certain rites and ceremonies, which were enjoined by the rubric, or the Queen's injunctions; as,

1. To the sign of the cross in baptism, which is no part of the institution as recorded in scripture; and having abused to superstition by the Church of Rome, and been had in such reverence by some protestants, that baptism itself has been thought imperfect without it, they apprehend it ought to be laid aside, &c.

2. They excepted to the use of god-fathers and god-mothers, to the exclusion of parents from being sureties for the education of their own children. If parents were dead, or in a distant country, they were as much for sponsors to undertake for the education of the child, as their adversaries; but when the education of children is by the laws of God and nature intrusted to parents, who are bound to form them to virtue and piety, they apprehend it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that promise, and deliver up the child to a stranger; as was then the constant practice, and is since enjoined by the twenty-ninth canon. They also disliked the god-fathers answering in the name of the child, and not in their own.

3. They disapproved the custom of confirming children, as soon as they could repeat the Lord's prayer and their

catechism, by which they had a right to come to the sacrament, without any other qualification; this might be done by children of five or six years old. They were also *dissatisfied with that part of the office, where the Bishop laying his hand upon the children, prays that God would by this sign certify them of his favour and goodness, which seems to impute a sacramental efficacy to the imposition of his hands.*

4. They excepted against the injunction of kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which they apprehended not so agreeable to the example of Christ and his apostles, who gave it to his disciples, rather in a posture of feasting than of adoration. Besides, it has no foundation in antiquity for many hundred years after Christ; and having since been grossly abused by the papists to idolatry, in their worshipping the host, it ought, say they, to be laid aside; and if it should be allowed, that the posture was indifferent, yet it ought not to be imposed and made a necessary term of communion; nor did they approve of either of the sacraments being administered in private; no not in cases of danger.

5. To bowing at the name of Jesus, grounded upon a false interpretation of that passage of scripture, "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow;" as if greater external reverence was required to that name, than to the person of our blessed Saviour, under the titles of Lord, Saviour, Christ, Emmanuel. The puritans maintained, that all the names of God and Christ, were to be had in equal reverence, and therefore it was beside all reason to bow the knee, or uncover the head, only at the name of Jesus.

6. To the ring in marriage. This they sometimes complied with, but wished it altered. It is derived from the papists, who make marriage a sacrament, and the ring a sort of sacred sign, or symbol. They also disallowed the forbidding of marriage at certain times of the year, and then, licensing it for money.

7. To the wearing of the surplice, and other ceremonies, to be used in divine service; concerning which the church says, that though they were devised by men, yet they are reserved for decency, order, and edification, &c. But the puritans saw no decency in the vestments; nay,

they thought them a disgrace to the reformation, and in the present circumstances absolutely unlawful, because they had been defiled with *superstition and idolatry*; and *because many pretended protestants placed a kind of holiness in them. Besides, the wearing them gave countenance to popery, and looked as if we were fond of being thought a branch of that communion, which we had so justly renounced.* But suppose them to be indifferent, they gave great offence to weak minds, and therefore ought not to be imposed, when there was no foundation for the use of them, in scripture or primitive antiquity.—These things, say they, every one should endeavour to reform in his place, ministers by the word, magistrates by their authority, and the people by prayer.

There was no difference in points of doctrine, between the puritans and conformists; so that if we had but one article more, we have the chief heads of controversy between the Church of England, and the Protestant Dissenters at this day; and that is, “The natural right that every man has to judge for himself, and make profession of that religion he apprehends most agreeable to truth, as far as it does not affect the peace and safety of the government he lives under; without being determined by the prejudices of education, the laws of the civil magistrate, or the decrees of councils, churches, or synods.” This principle would effectually put an end to all impositions; and unless it be allowed, I am afraid our separation from the Church of Rome can hardly be justified. The Bible, and that only, is the religion of protestants; and every one by making use of the helps and assistances that God has put into his hands, must learn and understand it for himself as well as he can.

It will appear hereafter, what sort of discipline the PURITANS would have introduced; but these were the objections that hindered their compliance with the present establishment, and for which they were content to “suffer the loss of all things.” Those who remained within the church, became itinerant preachers, lecturers, or chaplains. The chief leaders of the separation, according to Fuller, were Coleman, Button, Halingham, Benson, White, Rowland, and Hawkins, all beneficed within the diocese

of London. These had their followers of the laity, who forsook their parish churches, and assembled with the deprived ministers in woods, and private houses, to worship God without the habits and ceremonies of the church.

The Queen being informed of their proceedings, sent to her commissioners to take effectual measures to keep the laity to their parish churches, and to let them know, that if they frequented any separate conventicles, or broke through the ecclesiastical laws, they should for the first offence be deprived of their freedom of the city of London, and after that, abide what further punishment she should direct. This was a vast stretch of the prerogative; there being no law as yet to disfranchise any man for not coming to church.

But notwithstanding this threatening message, they went on with their assemblies, and on the nineteenth of June, agreed to have a sermon and a communion at Plumbers-hall, which they hired for that day under pretence of a wedding; but here the sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were assembled to the number of about one hundred; most of them were taken into custody, and some sent to the Compter, and next day seven or eight of the chief were brought before the Bishop of London. The Bishop charged them with absenting from their parish churches, and with setting up separate assemblies for prayer and preaching, and ministering the sacrament. He told them, that by these proceedings, they condemned the Church of England, which was well reformed according to the word of God, and those martyrs who had shed their blood for it. To which one of them replied, in the name of the rest, that they condemned them not, but only stood for the truth of God's word. Then the Bishop asked the elder of them, Mr. John Smith, what he could answer? Who replied, that they thanked God for the reformation; that as long as they could hear the word of God preached without idolatrous gear about it, they never assembled in private houses; but when it came to this point, that all their preachers were displaced who would not subscribe to the apparel, so that they could hear none of them in the church for the space of seven or eight weeks, except

father Coverdale, they began to consult what to do; and remembering there had been a congregation of protestants in the city of London in Mary's days, and another of English exiles at Geneva, that used a book flamed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together, and use the said book. And finally, Mr. Smith offered in the name of the rest, to yield and do penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the Bishop and the commissioners with him, could reprove that book, or any thing else that they held, by the word of God.

The Bishop told him, they could not reprove the book, but that was no sufficient answer for his not going to church. To which Smith replied, that, he would as soon go to mass, as to some churches, and particularly to his own parish church; for the minister that officiated there, was a very papist. Others said the same of other parish priests. The Bishop asked, if they accused any of them by name? upon which one of them presently named Mr. Bedel, who was there present, but the Bishop would not enquire into the accusation.

The Dean of Westminster, who was one of the ecclesiastical commissioners charged them with derogating from the Queen's authority of appointing indifferent things in God's worship. To which one of them answered, that it lay not in the authority of a prince, nor the liberty of a christian man, to use and defend that which appertained to papistry, idolatry, and the Pope's canon law. Another said, that these things were preferred before the word of God and the ordinances of Christ. The Bishop asked them what was preferred? One of them answered boldly, that which was upon the Bishop's head, and upon his back; their copes and surplices, and canon laws. Another said, that he thought both prince and people, ought to obey the word of God. To which the Bishop yielded, except in things that were indifferent, which God had neither commanded nor forbid; in these he asserted, that princes had authority to order and command. Whereupon several of them cried out, prove that, where find you that? But the Bishop would not enter into the debate, alleging the judgment of the learned Bullinger; to which Smith replied, that perhaps they could

shew Bullinger against Bullinger, in the affair of the habits.

The Bishop asked them, whether they would be determined by the church of Geneva. Mr. Smith replied, that they revered the learned in Geneva, and in other places, but did not build their faith and religion upon them. The Bishop produced the following passage out of one of Beza's letters against them; that against the bishops and prince's will, they should exercise their office, they the ministers of Geneva did much the more tremble at it. Mark, says the Bishop, how the learned Beza, trembles at your case. Whereupon one of them said, they knew the letter well enough, and that it made nothing against them, but rather against the prince and the bishops. Beza and his learned brethren trembled at their case, in proceeding to such extremities with men, as to drive them against their wills to that, which they did not care to mention. How the Bishop could think this was levelled against the non-conformists is hard to understand.

Mr. Hawkins produced a passage out of Melancton, that "When the opinion of holiness, or necessity, is put in to things indifferent, they darken the light of the gospel." The Bishop replied, that the ceremonies and habits, were not commanded of necessity. To which Hawkins rejoined, that they had made them matters of necessity, as many a poor man had felt to his cost, who had been discharged of his living for non-conformity. When the Bishop had occasionally observed, that he had formerly said mass, but was sorry for it; one of them answered, he went still in the habit of a mass priest. To which he replied, that he had rather minister without the cope and surplice, but for order sake, and obedience to the Queen. When some of the commissioners urged them with the reformation of King Edward, one said, that they never went so far in his time, as to make a law that none should preach or minister without the garments. Sundry other expressions of warmth passed on both sides; at length one of them, delivered to Justice Harris, their book of order, the Geneva book and challenged any of the commissioners to disprove it by the word of God, and they would give over. The Bishop said, they reprov'd it not but they

liked not their separate assemblies, to trouble the common quiet of the realm against the Queen's will. But the others, insisted on their superior regards to the word of God. In conclusion, the prisoners not yielding to the Bishop, were sent to Bridewell, where they with their brethren, and sundry women, were kept in durance above a year. At length their patience and constancy having been sufficiently tried, an order was sent from the lords of the council to release them; with an admonition to behave themselves better for the future. Accordingly twenty-four men, and seven women were discharged.

But neither the arguments nor sufferings of the puritans, nor their great and undissembled piety, had any influence upon the commissioners, who had their spies in all suspected places, to prevent their religious assemblies; and gave out strict orders, that no clergyman should be permitted to preach in any of the pulpits of London, without a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

The persecution of the protestants in France and the Low Countries, was hot and terrible about this time. The King of France broke through all his edicts, for the free exercise of the reformed religion; he banished their ministers, and much blood was spilt in their religious wars. In the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter, putting multitudes to death for religion. This occasioned great numbers to fly into England, which multiplied the Dutch churches in London, and elsewhere. The Queen, for their encouragement, allowed them the liberty of their own mode of worship, and as they brought their manufactures over with them, they proved very beneficial to the trade and commerce of the nation.

Even in England the hearts of all good men were ready to fail, for fear of the return of popish idolatry; the Queen being suddenly seized with a severe fit of sickness this summer, which brought her to the very point of death, and the presumptive heir, Mary, late Queen of Scots, being a bigotted papist. The Queen, together with her bodily distemper, was under great terror of mind for her sins, and for not discharging the duty of her

high station as she ought. She said, she had forgotten her God, in whom she had made many vows, and been unthankful to him. Prayers were composed and publicly read in all churches for her Majesty's recovery, in which they petitioned, that God would heal her soul, and cure her mind as well as her body. The papists were never more sanguine in their expectations, nor the reformation in greater danger, than now; and yet Bridewell, and other prisons, were full of puritans. But at length, it pleased Almighty God to dissipate for the present the clouds that hung over the reformation by the Queen's recovery.

This year was published the Bible called the Bishops' Bible, with a preface by Parker. It was only Cranmer's translation revised and corrected by several Bishops and learned men. The design was to set aside the Geneva translation, which had given offence. In the beginning, before the book of Genesis, is a map of the land of Canaan; before the New Testament, is inserted a map of the places mentioned in the four evangelists, and the journies of Christ and his apostles. There are various cuts dispersed through the book, and several genealogical and chronological tables, with the arms of divers noblemen, particularly those of Cranmer and Parker. There are also some references and marginal notes, for the explication of difficult passages. This was the Bible that was read in the churches, till the last translation of James the First took place.

But there was another storm gathering abroad, which threatened the reformation over all Europe; most of the popish princes having entered into a league to extirpate it out of the world. The principal confederates were the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal; with the Duke of Savoy and some lesser princes. Their agreement was, to endeavour by force of arms to depose all protestant Kings or potentates, and to place catholics in their room; and to displace, banish, and condemn to death, all well-wishers, and assistants of the clergy of Luther and Calvin, while the Pope was to thunder out his anathemas against the Queen of England, to interdict the kingdom, and to absolve her subjects

from their allegiance. In prosecution of this league, war was already begun in France, Holland, and in several parts of Germany, with unheard-of cruelties against the reformed. Under these difficulties, the protestant princes of Germany entered into a league, for their common defence, and invited the Queen of England to accede to it, Her Majesty sent Sir Henry Killigrew over to the Elector Palatine with a handsome excuse; and at the same time ordered her ambassador in France, to offer her mediation between that King, and his protestant subjects: But the confederacy was not to be broken by treaties; upon which her Majesty, by way of self-defence, and to ward off the storm from her own kingdoms, assisted the confederate protestants of France and Holland, with men and money, This was the second time the Queen had supported them in their religious wars against their natural Kings. The foreign popish princes reproached her for it; and her Majesty's ministers had much ado to reconcile it, with the court doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance.

At home the papists were in motion, having vast expectations from certain prophecies, that the Queen should not reign above twelve years; their numbers were formidable, and such was their latitude, that it was not easy to bring them within the verge of the laws. In Lancashire the Common Prayer Book was laid aside, churches were shut up, and the mass celebrated openly. The Queen sent down commissioners of enquiry, but all they could do, was to bind some of the principle gentlemen to their good behaviour in recognizances. Two of the colleges of Oxford, (viz.) New college and Corpus Christi, were so overrun with papists, that the Bishop of Winchester their visitor, was forced to break open the gates of the college, and send for the ecclesiastical commission to reduce them to order. Great numbers of papists harboured in the inns of court, and in several other places of public resort, expecting with impatience the death of the Queen, and the succession of the presumptive heir, Mary, late Queen of Scotland,

Towards the latter end of the year, the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmoreland, with their friends, to the

number of four thousand, broke out into open rebellion; their pretence was, to restore the popish religion, and deliver the Queen of Scots. In the city of Durham they tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book to pieces, and restored the mass in all places wherever they came; but hearing of the advance of the Queen's army under the Earl of Suffolk, they fled northward and mouldered away, without standing a battle: The Earl of Northumberland was taken in Scotland, and executed at York with many of his confederates; but the Earl of Westmoreland escaped into Flanders, and died in poverty. No sooner was this rebellion over, but Lord Dacres excited another on the borders of Scotland; but after a small skirmish with the governor of Berwick, he was defeated and fled, and the rabble was pardoned. There was a general commotion among the papists in all parts of the kingdom, who would have united their forces, if the northren rebels had maintained their ground.

To give new life to the catholic cause, the pope published a bull, excommunicating the Queen, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. This alarmed the administration, and put them upon their guard; but it quickly appeared, that the pope's thunderbolts had lost their terror; for the Roman catholic princes not being forward to encourage the court of Rome's pretended power of excommunicating princes, continued their correspondence with the Queen; and her own Roman catholic subjects remained pretty quiet; though from this time, they separated openly from the church. But the Queen took hold of the opportunity, to require all justices of peace, and other officers in commission, throughout all the counties in England, to subscribe their names to an instrument, professing their conformity and obedience to the act of Uniformity in religion, and for due resorting to their parish churches to hear common prayer. This affected puritans as well as papists. The gentlemen of the inns of court were also cited before the ecclesiastical commission, and examined about their resorting to church, and receiving the sacrament, of which most of them were very negligent. This raised a clamour, as if the Queen intended to ransack into men's consciences; in

answer to which she published a declaration, that she had no such intention. That she did not enquire into the sentiments of people's minds, but only required an external conformity to the laws; and that all that came to church, and observed her injunctions, should be deemed good subjects." So that if men would be deemed **HYPOCRITES**, her Majesty would leave them to God; but if they would not conform, they must suffer the law.

When the next parliament met, they passed a law, making it high-treason, to declare the Queen to be an heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; to publish, or put in use the pope's bulls; to be reconciled to the church of Rome, or to receive absolution by virtue of them. The concealing, or not discovering offenders against this act, is misprison of treason. A protestation was likewise drawn up, to be taken by all reputed papists; and that the puritans might not escape without some note of disloyalty, another protestation to the same effect was drawn up for them. There was no manner of occasion for this last protestation; for in the midst of these commotions, the puritans continued the Queen's faithful and dutiful subjects, and served her Majesty as chaplains in her armies and navy, though they were not admitted into the churches. One would have thought the formidable conspiracies of the Roman catholics, should have alienated the Queen's heart from them, and prevailed with her Majesty to yield something, for the sake of a firmer union among her protestant subjects; but instead of this, the edge of those laws that were made against popish rescuants, was turned against protestant nonconformists, which instead of bringing them into the church, like all other methods of severity, drove them further from it.

This year died Mr. A. Kingsmill, born in Hampshire, and educated in All Souls' College, Oxon. He had such a strong memory, that he could readily rehearse in the Greek language, all Paul's epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and other portions of scripture memoriter. He was a most pious and religious person, undervaluing all worldly profit, in comparison of the assurance of his salvation. In 1563, there were only three preachers in the university, of which Kingsmill was one; but after some

time, when conformity was pressed, and Sampson deprived of his deanry, he withdrew from the kingdom, resolving to live in one of the best reformed churches for doctrine and discipline, the better to prepare himself for the service of the church; accordingly he lived three years at Geneva, from thence he removed to Lausanne, where he died in the prime of his days, leaving behind him an excellent pattern of piety, devotion, and all manner of virtue.

The rigorous execution of the penal laws, made business for the Civilians; many were cited into the spiritual courts, and after long attendance, and heavy charges, were suspended or deprived; the *pursuivant*, or messenger of the court, was paid by the mile; the fees were exorbitant, which the prisoner must satisfy before he is discharged; the method of proceeding was dilatory and vexatious, though they seldom called any witnesses to support the charge, but usually tendered the defendant an oath, to answer the interrogatories of the court; and if he refused the oath, they examined him without it, and convicted him upon his own confession; if the prisoner was dismissed, he was almost ruined with the costs, and bound in a recognizance to appear again, whensoever the court should require him. We shall meet with many sad examples of such proceedings, in the latter part of this reign. The honest puritans made conscience of not denying any thing they were charged with, if it was true, though they might certainly have put their accusers on proof of the charge; Nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the truth, and bear a public testimony to it, before the civil magistrate, though it was made use of to their disadvantage.

The controversy with the church, which had hitherto been chiefly confined to the habits, to the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's supper, began now to open into several more considerable branches, by the lectures of Mr. Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, a courageous man, a popular preacher, a profound scholar, and master of an elegant latin stile; he was in high esteem in the university, his lectures being frequented by vast crouds of scholars; and when he preach-

ed at St. Mary's, they were forced to take down the windows. Beza says of him, that he thought there was not a more learned man under the sun. This divine, in his lectures, disputed against certain blemishes of the English hierarchy, and particularly against these six, which he subscribed with his own hand.—That the names and functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having no foundation in scripture.—The offices of the lawful ministers of the church, viz. Bishops and Deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution; the Bishop to preach the word of God and pray, and Deacons to take care of the poor.—The government of the church ought not to be intrusted with bishops, chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church should be governed by its own minister and presbyters.—Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain flock.—No body should ask, or stand as a candidate for the ministry.—Bishops should not be created by civil authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the church. These propositions are said to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the ruin of learning and religion; they were therefore sent to Secretary Cecil, chancellor of the University, who advised the vice-chancellor to silence the author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright challenged Dr. Whitgift, who preached against him, to a public disputation, which he refused unless he had the Queen's licence; and Whitgift offered a private debate by writing, which the other declined, as answering no valuable purpose. Other dangerous and seditious propositions, as they were called, were collected out of Cartwright's lectures, and sent to court by Dr. Whitgift, to incense the Queen and chancellor against him.

These were some of Cartwright's *dangerous* and *seditious* doctrines, which he touched occasionally in his lectures, but with no design to create discord, as appears by a testimonial sent to the Secretary of State in his favour, signed by fifteen considerable names in the University; in which they declare, that they had heard his lectures, and that he never touched upon the controversy

of the habits; and though he had advanced some propositions with regard to the ministry, according to which he wished things might be regulated, he did it with all imaginable caution and modesty. Other letters were also written in his favour, but it was resolved to make him an example. Cartwright himself sent an elegant latin letter to the Secretary, in which he declares, that he waved all occasions of speaking concerning the habits, but owns he had taught that our ministry declined from the ministry of the apostolical church in some points, according to which he wished it might be modelled, however, that he did this with all imaginable caution, as almost the whole University would witness, if they might be allowed. He prayed the Secretary to hear and judge the cause himself; which was so far from novelty, that it was as venerable for its antiquity as the apostolic age; but though the Secretary was convinced, that his behaviour was free from arrogance, or an intention to cause trouble, and that only as a public reader in the University, he had given notes of the difference between the ministry in the times of the apostles, and the present ministry of the Church of England, yet he left him to the mercy of his enemies, who poured upon him all the infamy and disgrace their power would admit. They first denied him his degree of doctor in divinity, then forbid his reading public lectures, and at last deprived him of his fellowship, and expelled him the University. A short and compendious way of confuting an adversary! Mr. Cartwright being now out of all employment, travelled beyond sea, and settled a correspondence with the most celebrated divines in the protestant Universities of Europe. While he was abroad, he was chosen minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he continued two years, with little or no profit to himself; and then returned to England, being earnestly solicited thereunto. We shall hear more of the sufferings of this eminent divine for his nonconformity.

This year Grindal, Bishop of London, being translated to York, Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, was removed to London; in his primary visitation he charged his clergy, to keep strictly to the book of Common Prayer. Not

to preach without a licence. To wear the apparel, that is, the square cap, and scholars gown, and in divine service, the surplice. Not to admit any of the other parishes to their communion. He also ordered all clerks tolerations to be called in; by which it appears, that some few of the nonconformists had been tolerated or dispensed with hitherto, but now this was at an end. However, the puritans encouraged one another by conversation and letters, to stedfastness in their opposition to the corruptions of the church, and not to fear the resentments of their adversaries.

There was a spirit in the parliament, to attempt something in favour of the puritans, upon whom the Bishops bore harder every day. Mr. Strickland offered a bill for a further reformation in the church, and introduced it with a speech, proving, that the Common Prayer-Book, with some superstitious remains of popery in the church, might easily be altered without any danger to religion. He enforced it with a second speech: upon which the treasurer of the Queen's household stood up, and said,—All matters of ceremonies were to be referred to the Queen, and for them to meddle with the royal prerogative was not convenient. Her Majesty was so displeased with Mr. Strickland's motion, that she sent for him before the council, and forbid him the parliament-house, which alarmed the members, and occasioned so many warm speeches, that she thought fit to restore him. This was a bold stroke at the freedom of parliaments, and carrying the prerogative to its utmost length. But Strickland moved further, That a confession of faith should be published and confirmed by parliament, as it was in other protestant countries; and that a committee might be appointed to confer with the Bishops on this head. The committee drew up certain articles, according to those which passed the convocation of 1562, but left out others. The Archbishop asked them, why they left out the article for homilies, and for the consecrating of Bishops, and some others relating to the hierarchy. Mr. Wentworth replied, because they had not yet examined, how far they were agreeable to the word of God, having confined

themselves chiefly to doctrines. The Archbishop replied, surely you will refer yourselves wholly to us the Bishops in these things? To which Wentworth replied warmly, "No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were to make you popes: make you popes who list, for we will make you none." So the articles relating to discipline were waved, and an act was passed, confirming all the doctrinal articles agreed upon in the synod of 1562.

It appears from this act that those articles of the church which relate to its discipline, were not designed to be the terms of ministerial conformity; and if the Queen and the Bishops had governed themselves accordingly, the separation had been stifled in its infancy; for there was hardly a puritan in England, who refused subscription to the doctrinal articles.

But notwithstanding this act, many that held benefices and ecclesiastical preferments, and that offered to conform to the statute, were deprived in the following part of this reign; which was owing to the Bishops servile compliance with the prerogative, and pressing subscription to more than the law required. It deserves further to be taken notice of, that by a clause in this act, the parliament admits of ordination by presbyters without a Bishop; which was afterwards disallowed by the Bishops in this reign; as well as at the restoration of Charles the Second when the church was deprived of great numbers of learned and useful preachers, who scrupled the matter of re-ordination, as they would at this time, if it had been insisted on. Many of the present clergy had been exiles for religion, and had been ordained abroad, according to the custom of foreign churches, but would not be re-ordained, any more than those of the popish communion; therefore, to put an end to all disputes the statute comprehends papists, and likewise such as received their orders in some of the foreign reformed churches, when they were in exile under Queen Mary.

It is probable that the controverted clause of the twentieth article, "the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority, in controversies of faith," was not among the articles of 1562, though it might be, according

to Laud and Heylin, inserted in the convocation book of 1571, but what has this to do with the act of parliament, which refers to a book printed nine years before? Besides, it is absurd to charge the puritans with striking out the clause, as Laud has done; they having no share in the government of the church at this time, nor interest to obtain the least abatement in their favour; nor does it appear, that they disapproved the clause under proper regulations. One might rather suppose, that the Queen should take umbrage at it as an invasion of her prerogative, and that therefore some zealous churchmen, finding the articles defective upon the head of the church's authority, might insert it privately, to avoid the danger of a *præmunire*.

But after all, subscription to the doctrinal articles of the church only, has been reckoned a very great grievance by many pious and learned divines, both in the church and out of it; for it is next to impossible to frame thirty-six propositions in any human words, to which ten thousand clergymen can give their hearty assent and consent. Some that agree to the doctrine itself, may dissent from the words and phrases by which it is expressed; and others, who agree to the doctrines of Christianity, may have some doubts about the deeper and more abstruse points of speculation. It would be hard to deprive a man of his living, and shut him out from all usefulness in the church, because he doubts of the local descent of Christ into hell: or, Whether the best actions of men before their conversion have the nature of sins; or whether every thing in the three creeds, commonly called the Apostles' the Nicene, and the Athanasian, may be proved by most certain warrants of holy scripture, and are therefore to be believed and received. Wise and good men may have different sentiments upon the doctrine of the decrees, which are a depth that no man can fathom. These, and some other things, have galled the consciences of the clergy, and driven them to evasions destructive to morality, and the peace of their own minds. Some have subscribed them as articles of peace, contrary to the very title, which says, They are for avoiding diversity of opi-

nions. Others have tortured the words into a meaning contrary to the known sense of the compilers. Some subscribe them with a secret reserve "as far as they are agreeable to the word of God;" and so they may subscribe the council of Trent, or even the Alcoran. Others subscribe them not as doctrines which they believe, but as doctrines that they will not openly contradict and oppose; and others, I am informed, put no sense upon the articles at all, but only subscribe them as a test of their obedience to their superiors, who require this of them, as the legal way to preferment in the church. How hard must it be for men of learning and probity to submit to these shifts! when no kind of subscription can be a barrier against ignorant or dishonest minds. Of what advantage is uniformity of profession without an agreement in principles? If the fundamental articles of our faith, were drawn up in the language of holy scripture; or if those who are appointed to examine into the learning, and other qualifications of ministers, were to be judges of their orthodox confessions of faith, it would answer a better purpose, than subscription to human creeds and articles.

Though the commons were forbid to concern themselves with the discipline of the church, they ventured to present an address to the Queen, complaining, "That for lack of true discipline in the church, great numbers are admitted ministers that are infamous in their lives, and among those that are of ability, their gifts in many places are useless, by reason of pluralities and non-residency, whereby infinite numbers of your Majesty's subjects are like to "perish for lack of knowledge." By means of this, together with the common blaspheming of the Lord's name, the most wicked licentiousness of life, the abuse of excommunication, the commutation of penance, the great number of atheists, schismatics daily springing up, and the increase of papists, the protestant religion is in imminent danger. Wherefore in regard first and principally to the glory of God, and next in discharge of our bounden duty to your Majesty; besides being moved with pity towards so many thousands of your Majesty's subjects, daily in danger of being lost for want of the food of the word, and true discipline, we the commons in this present

parliament assembled, are humbly bold to open the griefs, and to beseech your Majesty, &c. But the Queen broke up the parliament without taking any notice of the supplication.

The convocation which sat with this parliament assembled April the third, when Mr. G. Alcock, presented a supplication to them in behalf of the deprived ministers, praying their interest with the Queen for a redress of their grievances. But the convocation, instead of removing their burdens encreased them, by framing certain new canons of discipline, against the puritans; as, that the Bishops should call in all their licences for preaching, and give out new ones to those who were best qualified; and among the qualifications they insist not only upon subscription to the doctrines of the church, enjoined by parliament, but upon subscription to the Common Prayer Book, and Ordinal for consecration of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the word of God. And they declare, that all such preachers who do not subscribe, or that disturb people's minds with contrary doctrine, shall be excommunicated. But as these canons never had the sanction of the broad seal, surely the enforcing them upon the puritans was a stretch of power hardly to be justified. Bishop Grindal confessed they had not the force of a law, and might possibly involve them in a *præmunire*; and yet the Bishops urged them upon the Clergy of their several dioceses. They cancelled all the licences of preachers, and insisted peremptorily on the subscription above mentioned.

The complaints of the ministers under these hardships, reached the ears of the elector palatine of the Rhine, who was pleased to order the learned Zanchy, professor of divinity in the University of Heidelburgh, to write to the Queen of England in their behalf, beseeching her Majesty, not to insist upon subscriptions, or upon wearing the habits which gave such offence to great numbers of the clergy, and was like to make a schism in the church. The letter was inclosed to Bishop Grindal, who when he had read it, would not so much as deliver it to the Queen, for fear of disobliging her Majesty, whose resolution was

to put an end to all distinctions in the church, by pressing the act of uniformity. Instead therefore of relaxing, orders were sent to all churchwardens not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the sacraments in any churches, chapels, or private places, without a new licence from the Queen, or the Archbishop, or Bishop of the diocese. The more resolved puritans, were hereby reduced to the necessity of assembling in private, or of laying down their ministry.

Though all the Bishops were obliged to go into these measures of the court, yet some were so sensible of the want of discipline, and of preaching the word, that they permitted their clergy to enter into associations for promoting of both. The ministers of the town of Northampton, with the consent and approbation of Dr. Scambler their Bishop, the mayor of the town, and the justices of the county, agreed upon various regulations for worship and discipline.

Here was a sort of association, or voluntary discipline introduced independent of the Queen's injunctions, or canons of the church; this was what the puritans were contending for, and would gladly have acquiesced in, if it might have been established by law.

Besides these attempts for discipline, the clergy, with leave of their Bishop, encouraged religious exercises among themselves, for the interpretation of some text of scripture, one speaking to it orderly after another; these were called prophesyings from the apostolical direction, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. Ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted. Strype calls this, a well minded, and religiously disposed combination of both bishop, magistrate, and people. It was designed to stir up an emulation in the clergy to study the scriptures, that they might be more capable of instructing the people in christian knowledge; and though men of loose principles censured it, yet the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had a special letter from the Queen, to enquire into novelties, and were acquainted with the scheme above-mentioned, gave them as yet neither check nor disturbance; but when her Majesty was informed that they were nurseries of puritanism, and tended to promote alterations

in the government of the church, she quickly suppressed them, as will be seen in its proper place.

This year put a period to the life of the eminent John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, author of the famous apology for the Church of England, which was translated into foreign languages, and ordered to be chained in all the parish churches of England. He was born in Devonshire, 1522, and educated in Christ-church College, Oxon. In Edward's reign, he was a zealous promoter of the reformation; but not having the courage of a martyr, he yielded to some things against his conscience in the reign of Mary, for which he asked pardon of God, and the church, among the exiles in Germany, where he continued a confessor for the gospel till Elizabeth's accession, when he returned home, and was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury. He was one of the most learned men among the reformers, a calvinist in doctrine, but for absolute obedience to his sovereign, in all things of an indifferent nature, which led him not only to comply with all the Queen's injunctions about the habits, when he did not approve them, but to bear hard upon the consciences of his brethren, who were not satisfied to comply. He was a truly pious man, and died in a comfortable frame of mind. Some of his last words were, "I have not so lived that I am ashamed to die; neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. Christ is my righteousness. Lord let thy servant depart in peace."

In the same year died Mr. D. Whitehead, a great scholar, and a most excellent professor of divinity. He was educated in Oxford, was chaplain to Queen Anne Bullen, and one of the four divines nominated by Cranmer, to bishoprics in Ireland. In the beginning of Mary's reign, he went into voluntary exile, and resided at Frankfort, where he answered the objections of Dr. Horne, concerning church-discipline and worship. Upon his return into England, he was chosen one of the disputants against the popish Bishops, and shewed himself so profound a divine, that the Queen, out of her high esteem for him, offered him the arch-bishopric of Canterbury; but he refused it from puritanical principles, and would

accept of no preferment in the church, as it then stood : he excused himself to the Queen, by saying, he could *live plentifully on the gospel without any preferment ; and accordingly did so.* He went up and down like an apostle, preaching the word where it was wanted ; and spent his life in celibacy, which gained him the higher esteem with the Queen, who had no great affection for married priests. He died this year in a good old age.

Our Archbishop was very busy this summer, with the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, in harassing the puritans ; for which purpose he summoned before him the principal clergy of both provinces, who were disaffected to the uniformity established by law, and acquainted them, that if they intended to continue their ministry, they must take out new licences, and subscribe the articles framed according to a new act of parliament, for reforming certain disorders in ministers ; otherwise they must resign quietly, or be deprived. He took in the Bishops above-mentioned to countenance his proceedings, but Grindal declared he would not be concerned, if his grace proceeded to suspension and deprivation.

In the month of June, the Archbishop cited the chief puritan divines about London to Lambeth. These divines being willing to live peaceably, offered to subscribe the articles of religion, as far as concerned the doctrine and sacraments only, and the book of Common Prayer, as far as it tended to edification, it being acknowledged on all hands, that there were some imperfections in it ; praying with respect to the apparel, that neither party might condemn the other, but that those who wore it, and those who did not, might live in unity and concord. How reasonable soever this was, the Archbishop told them peremptorily, that they must come up to the standard of the Queen's injunctions, or be deprived. Goodman was also required to renounce a book that he had wrote many years ago, when he was an exile, against the government of women ; which he refused, and was therefore suspended. Strype says, that he was at length brought to revoke it, and signed a protestation concerning his dutiful obedience to the Queen's person, and government. Lever quietly resigned his prebend in the church of Durham. Browne

being domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, his patron undertook to screen him; but the Archbishop sent *him word, that no place within her Majesty's dominions, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the commissioners,* and therefore if his grace did not forthwith send up his chaplain, they should be forced to use other methods. This was that Robert Browne, who afterwards gave name to that denomination of dissenters, called Brownists; but his family and relations covered him for the present. Johnson was domestic chaplain to the Lord-keeper Bacon, at Goramby, where he used to preach and administer the sacrament in his family: he had also some place at St. Albans, and was fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He appeared before the commissioners, but refusing to subscribe to the book of common prayer as agreeable to the word of God, he was suspended, though he assured them, that he used the book, and thought for charity sake it might be suffered, till God should grant a time of more perfect reformation: that he would wear the apparel, though he judged it neither expedient nor for edification; and that he was willing to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the church, according to the late act of parliament: but the commissioners insisted peremptorily upon an absolute subscription, as above, he was suspended, and resigned his prebend in the church of Norwich; and about two years after, he fell into further troubles which cost him his life.

The learned Beza, wrote to the Bishops, not to be the instruments of such severities; and being informed that a parliament was shortly to be called, in which a consultation was to be had concerning the establishing of religion, he excited the Lord treasurer to endeavour some reformation of discipline; "For I will not dissemble, says he, that not a few complain of divers things wanting in the church; and when I say not a few, I do not mean that worse sort, whom nothing pleases but what is perfect, and absolute in all respects; but I understand godly learned men, and some that are best affected to God's church, and lovers of their nation, I look upon the reformation of discipline as of great importance to the peace and welfare of the nation, and the strengthening of the reformation;

and therefore, there is nothing the Queen's Majesty and her council should sooner think of than this, however great and difficult the work might be, especially since the English nation affords so many divines of prudence, learning, and judgment, in these affairs: if they together with the Bishops, to whom indeed especially, but not alone, this care belongs, would deliberate hereupon, I doubt not but such things would follow, whence other nations would take example." Thus did this learned divine intercede for the recovery of discipline, and the ease of tender and scrupulous consciences. But this was more than our Archbishop thanked him for, after he had taken so much pains in pressing the act of uniformity.

The parliament met May eighth the Lord-keeper opening it with a speech, in which he recommended to both houses in the Queen's name, to see that the laws relating to the discipline and ceremonies of the church, were put in due execution; and that if any further laws were wanting, they should consider of them, and so, says his Lordship, *Gladius Gloriam jurabit*, the civil sword will support the ecclesiastical, as before time has been used. But the parliament seeing the ill use the Queen and bishops made of their spiritual power, instead of framing new laws to enforce the ceremonies, ordered two bills to be brought in to regulate them: in one of which, the hardships that the puritans complained of were redressed. The bills passed smoothly through the commons, and were referred to a select committee of both houses, which alarmed the Bishops, and gave the Queen such offence, that two days after she sent to acquaint the commons by their speaker, that it was her pleasure, that no bills concerning religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered, and approved by the Bishops or clergy in convocation; and further, her Majesty commanded them to deliver up the two bills last read in the house, touching rites and ceremonies. This was a high strain of the prerogative, and a blow at the very root of the freedom of parliament. But the commons sent her Majesty the bills with a servile request, that she would not conceive an ill opinion of the house, if she should not

approve them. Her Majesty sent them word, within a day or two, that she utterly disliked the bills, and never returned them: This awakened a noble spirit of liberty among some of the members; many free speeches were made upon the occasion, and among others, Peter Wentworth, Esq. stood up and said, "That it grieved him to see, how many ways the liberty of free speech in parliament, had been infringed. Two things, says he, do great hurt among us, one is a rumour that run about the house, when the bill about the rites of the church was depending; take heed what you do, the Queen liketh not such a matter, she will be offended with them that prosecute it. The other is, that sometime, a message was brought to the house, either commanding or inhibiting our proceedings." He added, "that it was dangerous always to follow a prince's mind, because the prince might favour a cause prejudicial to the honour of God, and the good of the state. Her Majesty has forbid us to deal in any matter of religion, unless we first receive it from the Bishops. This was a doleful message; there is then little hope of reformation. I have heard from old parliament men, that the banishment of the pope, and the reforming true religion, had its beginning from this house, but not from the bishops; few laws for religion had their foundation from them; and I do surely think, before God I speak it, that the Bishops were the cause of that doleful message." But for this speech, and another of the like nature, Wentworth was sent to the Tower.

In the mean time the late act for subscribing the articles, was put in execution all over England, together with the Queen's injunctions; and according to Strype's computation, 100 clergymen were deprived this year, for refusing to subscribe. The university of Cambridge was a nest of puritans; and many of the graduates were disaffected to the discipline of the church, who being men of learning, had great numbers of followers; but Whitgift, the vice-chancellor, watched them narrowly, and kept them under. Mr. Clarke in one of his sermons at St. Mary's had said, that there ought to be a parity among the ministers in the church; and that the hierarchical orders of archbishops, patriarchs, metropolitans,

&c. was introduced into the church by satan. For which he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, and refusing to recant, was expelled the university. Clarke wrote a handsome Latin apology to Lord Burleigh, their present chancellor, in which he confesses, that it was his opinion, that the church of England might be brought nearer to the apostolic character or likeness; but that this must not be said either in the pulpit or desk, under the severest penalties. The chancellor knowing him to be a good scholar, and in consideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Messrs. Browning, Deering, and others, met with the like usage. Deering was a man of good learning, and made a chief figure in the university; he was also reader at St. Pauls, London, and a most popular preacher; but being an enemy to the superior order of Bishops, he fell into the hands of the commissioners, and was silenced.

The puritans finding it in vain to hope for a reformation from the Queen or bishops, resolved for the future to apply to parliament, and stand by the constitution; for this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth their chief grievances in one view; it was drawn up by Mr. Field, minister of Aldermary, London, assisted by Mr. Wilcox, and was revised by several of the brethren. It was entitled an **ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT;** with Beza's letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gualters to Bishop Parkhurst, for reformation of church discipline, annexed. It contains the platform of a church; the manner of electing ministers; their several duties, and their equality in government. It then exposes the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the Bishops, with some severity of language; and concludes with a petition to the houses, that a discipline more consonant to the word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed churches, may be established by law. The authors themselves, viz. Messrs. Field and Wilcox, presented it to the house, for which they were sent for into custody, and by the influence of the Bishops committed to Newgate. Upon this, the book already printed was suffered to go abroad, and had

gone through three or four editions within the compass of two years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Bishops to find out the press.

The imprisonment of the two ministers, occasioned the drawing up a second admonition, by Mr. CARTWRIGHT, lately returned from beyond sea, with an humble petition to the two houses, for relief against the subscription required by the ecclesiastical commissioners, which they represent had no foundation in law, but was an act of sovereignty in the crown, and was against the peace of their consciences; and that many had lost their places and livings for not complying; they therefore beseech their honours, to take a view of the causes of their non-subscribing, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the church of God, or to their sovereign; and they most humbly entreat, for the removal and abolishing of such corruptions and abuses in the church, as withheld their compliance. Two other pamphlets were published on this occasion, one entitled, "An exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren;" the other, "An exhortation to the bishops and clergy to answer a little book that was published last parliament; and an exhortation to other brethren, to judge of it by God's word, till they saw it answered."

The prisoners themselves, drew up an elegant Latin apology to the Lord treasurer Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the admonition, but that they attempted not to correct or change any thing in the hierarchy of themselves, but referred all to the parliament, hoping by this means that all differences might be composed in a legal way, and the corruptions complained of, might be removed, to the preventing any schism or separation in the church. However, the treasurer had not courage to intermeddle with an affair, which might embroil him with the Queen, or at least with her ecclesiastical commissioners, though it was well enough known he had a good will to the cause. But the commissioners, not content with the severity of the law, sported themselves in an arbitrary manner with the miseries of their fellow creatures; detained them in prison beyond the time limited by the statute; and though the inhabitants of Aldermary,

London, presented two supplications for the enlargement of their valuable pastor, and learned and faithful preacher as they called Mr. Field; and though some great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their release. The Archbishop sent his chaplain to confer with them in prison, after they had been there three months, for which they were thankful. The conference began with a suitable prayer, which Mr. Field made, and was carried on with such decency, as moved the chaplain's compassion; but nothing would prevail with the inexorable commissioners to release them, till they had suffered the extremity of the law, and paid their fees, though the keeper gave it under his hand, that they were so poor, as not to have money to pay for their lodgings or victuals. To return to the **ADMONITION**, which consisted of twenty-three chapters, under the following titles. Chap. I. Whether Christ forbiddeth rule or superiority to ministers. II. Of the authority of the church in things indifferent. III. Of the election of ministers. IV. Of ministers having no pastoral charge and of ceremonies used in ordering ministers. V. The residence of the pastors. VI. Of ministers that cannot preach, and of licences to preach. VII. The apparel of ministers. VIII. Of archbishops, metropolitans, bishops, archdeacons, &c. IX. The communion book. X. Of holidays. XI. What kind of preaching is most effectual. XII. Preaching before the administration of the sacraments. XIII. Reading the scriptures. XIV. Ministering and preaching by deacons. XV. The communion. XVI. Baptism. XVII. Of seniors, or government by elders. XVIII. Discipline of the church. XIX. Deacons and widows. XX. The authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. XXI. Subscribing the communion book. XXII. Cathedral churches. XXIII. Of civil officers in ecclesiastical persons. These were the chief heads of complaint, which the puritans having laid before the world, the Bishops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr. J. Whitgift, master of Trinity College, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was appointed to this work, which he performed with great labour and study, and dedicated it to the church of England. His method was unexceptionable; the whole text of the admonition being set

down in paragraphs, and under each paragraph the doctor's answer. Before it was printed it was revised and corrected by Archbishop Parker, Bishop Cooper, Bishop of London, and Pern, Bishop of Ely; so that in this book, says Strype, may be seen all the arguments for and against the hierarchy, drawn to the best advantage.

Whitgift's book was answered by Mr. Cartwright, whose performance was called a master piece in its kind, and had the approbation of great numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign divines. Whitgift replied to Cartwright, and had the thanks of the Bishops and of the Queen; who as a reward for his excellent and learned pains, made him dean of Lincoln, while Cartwright to avoid the rigour of the commissioners, was forced to abscond in friends houses, and at length retire into banishment.

But it was impossible for these divines to settle the controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same standard, or rule of judgment. Cartwright maintained, that the holy scriptures were not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government; and that the church of Christ in all ages, was to be regulated by them. He was therefore for consulting his bible only, and for reducing all things as near as possible to the apostolical standard. Whitgift went upon a different principle, and maintained that though the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of church discipline or government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil government we live under; and that the apostolical government was adapted to the church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate on its side. The doctor therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the church to scripture, takes into his standard, the four first centuries after Christ; and those customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the church was then in its mature state, and not yet under the power of antichrist.

The reader will judge of these principles for himself

One is ready to think, that the nearer we can come to the apostolical practice the better; and the less our religion is incumbered with rites and ceremonies of later invention, the more it must resemble the simplicity that is in Christ. If our blessed Saviour had designed that his worship should be set off with pomp and grandeur, and a multitude of ceremonies, he would have told us so; and it may be; have settled them, as was done for the church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, his followers should be cautious of inserting human commandments or traditions, into the religion of Christ, lest they cast a reflection upon his kingly office.

The dispute between Whitgift and Cartwright, was managed with some sharpness; the latter thought he had reason to complain of the hardships himself and his brethren suffered; and Whitgift having the government on his side, thought he stood upon higher ground, and might assume a superior air; when Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence because they were brethren, the doctor replies, “What signifies their being brethren; anabaptists, arians, and other heretics, would be accounted brethren; their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their error; they deserve *as great punishment as papists*, because both conspire against the church. If they are shut up in Newgate, it is a meet reward of their disorderly doings; for ignorance may not excuse libels against a private man, much less when they slander the whole church.”—How would the doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a papist sixteen years before? But this has been the method of warm and zealous disputants; the knots they cannot unite with their fingers, they would fain cut asunder with the sword.

Thus Whitgift routed his adversary; he had already deprived him of his professor's chair, and of his degree of doctor of divinity; and being now vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expelled the University upon the following pretence: Cartwright being senior fellow of his college, was only in deacon's orders; the doctor being informed of this, and that the statute requiring such to take upon them the order of priesthood, might be interpreted to priest's orders, concluded he was perjured;

upon which he summoned the heads of colleges together, and declared that Cartwright had broken his oath, and without any further admonition, pushed his interest among the masters, to rid the college of a man, whose popularity was too great for his ambition, insomuch that he declared he could not establish order in the university, while a person of his principles was among them; after this he wrote to the Archbishop, and begged his grace to watch at court, that Cartwright might get no advantage against him, for says he, he is flatly perjured, and it is God's just judgment that he should be so punished, for not being a full minister. A very mean and pitiful triumph!

The Queen also, and her commissioners, brandished their swords against Cartwright, and his followers; her Majesty by proclamation called in the admonition, commanding all her subjects, who had any in their possession, to bring them to the Bishop of the diocese, and not to sell them, upon pain of imprisonment; upon which Stroud the publisher, brought in thirty four, and his wife burnt the rest that were unsold: This Mr. Stroud was the suspended minister of Cranbrook, an excellent preacher, and universally beloved; but being reduced to poverty, was forced to condescend to the low offices of correcting the press, and of publishing books for a livelihood; when he appeared before the Bishop of London upon this occasion, his lordship reproached him for laying down the ministry, though Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six years before.

The Bishops were no less careful to crush the favourers of the admonition; for when Mr. Wake of Christ Church, had declared in favour of it, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next morning into custody; but he made his escape: Mr. Crick, chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the book in a sermon at the same place, the Archbishop sent a special messenger to apprehend him. and though he escaped for the present, he afterwards fell into the hands of the commissioners, and was deprived; the like misfortune befel Dr. Aldrich, an eminent divine, and dignitary

of the church, with many others ; notwithstanding which Sandy's, Bishop of London, in his letter to the treasurer, calls for further help ; the city, says he, will never be quiet, till these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city ; the people resort to them, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimages ; if these idols, who are honoured as saints, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust, and they would be taken for blocks as they are. A sharp letter from her Majesty would cut the courage of these men. Good, my lords, for the love you bear to the church of Christ, resist the tumultuous enterprises of these new fangled fellows. These were the weapons with which the doctor's answer to the admonition was enforced ; so that we may fairly conclude with Fuller the historian, that if Cartwright had the better of his adversary in learning, Whitgift had more power to back his arguments ; and by this he not only kept the field, but gained the victory.

On the other hand it is certain, vast numbers of the clergy both in London and the two universities, had a high opinion of Cartwright's writings ; he had many admirers ; and if we may believe his adversaries, wanted not for presents and gratuities : Many hands were procured in approbation and commendation of his reply to Whitgift ; and some said, they would defend it to death. In short, though Whitgift's writings might be of use to confirm those who had already conformed, they made no converts among the puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former sentiments.

In the year 1573, Whitgift published his defence against Cartwright's reply ; in which he states the difference between them thus,—The question is not, whether many things mentioned in your Platform of Discipline were fitly used in the apostles time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed churches, this is not denied ; but whether, when there is a settled order in doctrine and government established by law, it may stand with godly and christian wisdom, to attempt so great alteration as this Platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the prince and laws, and unquietness of the church, and

offence of many consciences. If this were the whole question, surely it might stand with the wisdom of the legislature in settled times, to make some concessions in favour of pious and devout men; nor can it be inconsistent with godly and christian wisdom, for subjects to attempt it, by lawful and peaceable methods.

Two years after Cartwright published a second reply to Whitgift's defence; it consisted of two parts; the first was entitled, *The second reply of T. C. against Dr. Whitgift's second answer touching the church discipline*; with these two sentences of scripture in the title page. "For Zion's sake I will not hold my tongue; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, till the righteousness thereof break forth as the light, &c."—Ye are the Lord's remembrancers: Keep not silence. It is dedicated to the church of England, and all that love the truth in it. In his preface, he answers divers personal matters between the doctor and himself: He reminds him of his illegal depriving him of his fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He says, he never opened his lips for the divinity chair, as he had falsely charged him: that he had never desired the degree of a doctor, but by the advice of more than a dozen learned ministers, who considering his office of divinity reader, thought he ought to assume the title. He added, that he never refused a private conference with Whitgift, but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying, he was incorrigible; indeed he did refuse private conference by writing, having had experience of his adversary's unfaithfulness; and because he thought that the doctrine he had taught openly, should be defended openly. Whitgift charged him, that after he was expelled the college, he went up and down doing no good, but living at other men's tables. How ungenerous was this! After the doctor had taken away his bread, and stopt his mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach him with doing no good, and being beholden to his friends for a dinner. Cartwright owned, that he was poor; that he had no house of his own; and that it was with small delight he lived upon his friends, though he still did what little good he could, in instructing their children. Whitgift charged his adversary further,

with want of learning, though he had filled the divinity chair with vast reputation, and had been stiled by Beza, the very Sun of England. He taxes him with making extracts of other men's notes, and that he had scarce read one of the ancient authors he had quoted. To which Cartwright modestly replied, that as to great reading he would let it pass; for if Whitgift had read all the Fathers, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned world by their writings; but that it was sufficiently known, he had hunted him with more hounds than one.

The strength of his reply, lies in reducing the policy of the church as near as possible to the standard of scripture; for when Whitgift alleged some of the fathers of the fourth and fifth century on his side, Cartwright replied, That forasmuch as the fathers have erred, and that corruptions crept early into the church, therefore they ought to have no further credit, than their authority is warranted by the word of God and reason; to press their bare authority without relation to this, is to bring an intolerable tyranny into the church of God.

The second part of Cartwright's reply, was not published till two years afterwards, when he was fled out of the kingdom; it is entitled, "The rest of the second reply of Thomas Cartwright, against master doctor Whitgift's answer, touching the church discipline, in which he shews that church government by an eldership is by divine appointment, and of perpetual obligation. He then considers the defects of the Church of England, and treats of the power of the civil magistrates in ecclesiastical matters; of ecclesiastical persons bearing civil offices; and of the habits. He apologizes for going through with the controversy at such a distance of time, but he thought it of importance, and that it need not be ashamed of the light. But he was sensible he strove against the stream, and that his work might be thought unseasonable, his adversary being now advanced so much above him; for this year Whitgift was made a Bishop, when poor Cartwright was little better than a wandering beggar.

Thus ended the controversy between these two champions; so that Fuller, Heylin, and Collier, must be mis-

taken, when they say, Whitgift kept the field, and carried off a complete victory, Cartwright having certainly the last word. But whoever had the better of the argument, Whitgift got the most by it ; and when he was advanced to the pinnacle of church-preferment, acted an ungenerous part towards his adversary for many years, persecuting him with continual vexations and imprisonments, and pointing all his church artillery against him ; not suffering him so much as to defend the common cause of christianity against the papists, when he was called to it ; however at length, being wearied with the importunities of great men, or growing more temperate in his old age, he suffered him to govern a small hospital in Warwick, given him by the Earl of Leicester, where this great and good man's grey hairs came down with sorrow to the grave.

But notwithstanding all this opposition from the Queen and her commissioners, the puritans gained ground ; and though the press was restrained, they galled their adversaries with pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in city and country. Parker employed all his emissaries to discover their printing presses, but to no purpose ; whereupon he complained to the treasurer. The puritans, he says, are justified, and we judged to be extreme persecutors ; if the sincerity of the gospel should end in such judgments, I fear the council will be overcome. The puritans slander us with books and libels, lying they care not how deep, and yet the more they write, the more they are applauded and comforted. The scholars of Cambridge were generally with the puritans, but the masters and heads of colleges were against them ; so that many who ventured to preach for the discipline, were deprived of their fellowships, and expelled the University, or obliged to a public retractation.

There being no further prospect of a public reformation by the legislature, some of the leading puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way ; for this purpose they erected a presbyter at Wandsworth, a village five miles from the city, conveniently situated for the London brethren, as standing on the banks of the river Thames. On the twentieth of November, eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a register, entitled, the orders

of Wandsworth. This was the first presbyterian church in England. All imaginable care was taken to keep their proceedings secret, but the Bishop's eye was upon them, who gave immediate intelligence to the high commission, upon which the Queen issued out a proclamation, for putting the act of uniformity in execution; but though the commissioners knew of the presbytery, they could not discover the members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring counties.

While the Queen and Bishops were defending the out-works of the church against the puritans, and bracing up the building with articles, canons, injunctions, and penal laws, enforced by the sword of the civil magistrate, the papists were sapping the very foundation; for upon publishing the Pope's bull of excommunication against the Queen, great numbers deserted the public worship, and resorted to private conventicles to hear mass, while others who kept their stations in the church, were secretly undermining it. In Yorkshire they went openly to mass, and were so numerous, that the protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great resort to the Portuguese ambassador's chapel; and when the sheriff, by order of the Bishop of London, sent his officers to take some of them into custody, the Queen was displeased, and ordered them immediately to be released.

Sad was the state of religion, says Strype, at this time; "the substantials being lost in contending for externals; the churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none: neglecting their cures. Many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases, and waste of woods, and granted reversions, and advowsons to their wives and children.—Among the laity there was little devotion; the Lord's day greatly profaned, and little observed; the common prayers not frequented; some lived without any service of God at all; many were mere heathens and atheists; the Queen's own Court an harbour for epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish; which things made good men fear some sad judgments impending over the nation." The governors of the church expressed no concern for suppressing of vice, and encouraging virtue;

there were no citations into the commons for immoralities : but the Bishops were every day shutting the mouths of the most pious, useful, and industrious preachers in the nation, at a time when the Queen was sick of the small pox, and troubled with fainting fits, and the whole reformation depended upon the single thread of her life.

This precarious state of religion was the more terrible, because of the Parisian massacre, on the twenty-fourth of August, when great numbers of protestants having been invited to Paris, on pretence of doing honour to the King of Navarre's marriage to the King's sister, ten thousand were massacred in one night, and twenty thousand more in other parts of the kingdom, within the compass of a few weeks, by his Majesty's commission ; no distinction being made between the highest and the meanest of the people ; they spared neither women nor children in the cradle. Many who escaped, fled to Geneva and Switzerland, and great numbers into England, to save their lives. The protestant princes of Germany were awakened with this butchery ; and the Queen put the coasts into a posture of defence, but made no concessions, for uniting her protestant subjects among themselves.

This year died John Knox, the apostle and chief reformer, of the kirk of Scotland. This divine came into England, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and was appointed one of the itinerant preachers for the year 1552, he was afterwards offered a parochial living in London, but refused it ; upon King Edward's death, he retired beyond sea, and became preacher to the English exiles at Frankfort, till he was artfully spirited away by the contrivance of Mr. Cox, now Bishop of Ely, for not reading the English service. He afterwards preached to the English at Geneva ; and upon the breaking up of that congregation, he returned to Scotland, and was a great instrument in the hand of providence, for the reformation of that kirk. He was a son of thunder, and feared not the face of any man in the cause of religion, which betrayed him sometimes into too coarse treatment of his superiors. However, he had the respect of all the protestant nobility, and gentry of his country ; and after a life of great service and labour, died comfortably in the midst of his friends,

had been prevented. However, it was very unreasonable *to lay this to the charge of the puritans, and to take occasion from hence, to spread a general persecution over the whole kingdom; but the Queen was for laying hold of all opportunities, to suppress a number of conscientious men, whom she often would say, she hated more than the papists.*

The commissioners being thus pushed forwards, sent letters to the Bishops, exhorting them to command their archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, to give it in charge to their clergy and questmen, to present the names and surnames of all non-conformists in their several parishes, before the first week in Lent. A letter of this sort was sent, among others, by the old Bishop of Norwich, to his chancellor. This was very unacceptable work, to a man who was dropping into his grave; but he gave orders as he was commanded, and many ministers of his diocese being returned unconformable, were suspended from reading common prayer, and administering the sacraments, but allowed still to catechise youth, several of whom offered to preach to some congregations, as the Bishop should appoint, of which his lordship writ to the Archbishop, but his grace refused to set them on work, and continue their parts in the public exercises or prophecyings, for which the Bishop was severely reprimanded, and threatened by the commissioners, with the Queen's high displeasure; whereupon he allowed his chancellor to silence them totally, though it was against his judgment. But after all, his lordship being suspected of remissness, Parker directed a special commission to commissaries of his own appointing, to visit his diocese parochially; which they did, and reported, that some ministers were absent, and so could not be examined; other churches had no surplices, but the ministers said they would wear them when provided; but that there were about three hundred non-conformists, whom they had suspended; some of whom, as the good old Bishop writes, were godly and learned, and had done much good.

The heads of the puritans being debarred the liberty of preaching and printing, challenged their adversaries to a public disputation: this had been allowed the pro-

testants in Mary's reign, and the papists at the accession of Elizabeth; but the Queen and council would not now admit, that what was established by law, should be exposed to question, and referred to the hazard of a dispute. Instead therefore of a conference, they took a shorter way, by summoning the disputants before the ecclesiastical commission, to answer to sundry articles exhibited against them, and among others to this, whether the common prayer book is every part of it grounded upon holy scripture? An honour hardly to be allowed by any human composure: and for not answering to the satisfaction of the commissioners, Messrs. Wyburne, Johnson, Browne, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King, were deprived, and the four last committed to Newgate, from whence two of them had been but lately released. They were told further, that if they did not comply in a short time they should be banished; though there was no law for inflicting such punishment. Cartwright was summoned among the rest, but wisely got out of the way, upon which the commissioners issued an order for his apprehension, But he lay concealed among his friends, till an opportunity offered of leaving the kingdom.

Mr. Deering, reader of St. Paul's, was also suspended for some trifling words spoken against the hierarchy in conversation; and in order to his restoration was obliged to subscribe four articles, viz. To the supremacy; to the thirty-nine articles; to the book of Common Prayer; and that the word and sacrament are rightly administered in the Church of England; which he did, with some few exceptions. The commissioners then examined him upon fifteen or twenty articles more; to which he gave wise and modest answers, yielding as much as his principles, and the nature of things would admit; but being called, as it were, before an inquisition, as he thought himself not bound to be his own accuser, so he prayed their honours, that what he had said might not be interpreted to his prejudice; yet the commissioners ungenerously took advantage of his answers, and deprived him of his lecture. But he appealed from the commissioners to the council, who were pleased to restore him, which considerably galled the Archbishop.

was alleged against him, That he had married without the ring; and that he had baptized without the cross. Mr. Pierce says, he was also accused of a misdemeanor, because when once he was administering the sacrament, the wine falling short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh, accounting the former consecration sufficient for what was to be applied to the same use; but nothing of this kind appears in his two indictments; but for the other offences, viz. for omitting these words in the office of baptism, I receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token, &c. And for omitting these words in the marrying of Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, "With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow, in the name of the Father, &c." and for refusing to subscribe, he was shut up in close prison for seven weeks, till he died in great poverty and want.

The officers of the spiritual courts planted their spies in all suspected parishes, to make observation of those who came not to church, and cause them to be summoned into the Commons, where they were punished at pleasure. The keepers were charged to take notice of such as came to visit the prisoners, or bring them relief; and upon notice given, spies were set upon them to bring them into trouble. Complaints have been made of their rude language to the bishops, and the rest of the commissioners; and it is possible that their lordly behaviour, and arbitrary proceedings, might sometimes make their passions overflow. Oppression will make a wise man mad. But in their examination nothing of this kind appears. On the other hand, it is certain the conduct of the commissioners was high and imperious; their under officers were ravenous, and greedy of gain; the fees of the court were exorbitant; so that if an honest puritan fell into their hands, he was sure to be half ruined before he got out, though he was cleared of the accusation. In short, the commissioners treated those that came before them, neither like men nor christians, as will appear, among many others, by the following examination of Mr. White, a substantial citizen of London, who had been

fined, and tossed from one prison to another, contrary to law and justice, only for not frequenting his parish church. His examiners were the Lord chief justice; the master of the rolls; the master of the requests; Mr. Gerard; the dean of Westminster; the sheriff of London, and the clerk of the peace. After sundry others had been dispatched, Mr. White was brought before them, whom the Lord chief justice, among other things, playing upon his name, told him he was as *black* as the devil; that he was the most wicked and contemptuous person who had been brought before him; and then, said his Lordship, "I swear by God, thou art a very rebel;" and "I will have your head from your shoulders; have him to the gate-house, &c."

These severities against zealous protestants, of pious and sober lives, raised the compassion of the common people, and brought them over to their interests. It was a great grief to the Archbishop, says Mr. Strype, and to other good Bishops, to see persons going off from the first establishment of the protestant religion among us, making as if the service-book was unlawful, and the ecclesiastical state antichristian; and labouring to set up another government and discipline.—But who drove them to these extremities? Why were not a few amendments in their liturgy yielded to at first, whereby conscientious men might have been made easy; or liberty given them to worship God in their own way?

Notwithstanding the dangers already mentioned, "people resorted to the suffering puritans in prison, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimage: (These are the Bishop of London's words.) Some aldermen, and several wealthy citizens, gave them great and stout countenances, and persuaded others to do the like."

Separate communions were established, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered privately, after the manner of the foreign reformed churches; and those who joined with them, according to Archbishop Parker, signed a solemn protestation, relating to the reasons of their separation.

To this protestation the congregation did severally

swear, and then received the communion for the ratification of their assent ; if we may believe the relation of Archbishop Parker, though his grace had not always the best information, nor was sufficiently careful to distinguish between subscribing and swearing.

Many non-conformists who were willing to be at ease, and avoid the hazard of persecution, took shelter in the French and Dutch churches, and joined themselves to their communion : there were not many of this sort because they understood not their language. But the Queen and council had their eye upon them, and resolved to drive them from this shelter ; for this purpose a letter was writ from the council board, to the ministers and elders of the Dutch church in London, particularly requiring that they should not receive into their communion any of the realm that offered to join with them, and leave the customs and practise of their native country, lest the Queen should be moved to banish them out of the kingdom.

Endeavours had been used, to bring these churches under the jurisdiction or superintendency of the Bishop of the diocese, for the time being ; but they pleaded their charter, and that Grindal, while Bishop of London, was their superintendent only by their own consent ; however a quarrel happening some time after in the Dutch church at Norwich, the Queen's commissioners interposed : and because the elders refused to own their jurisdiction, they banished all their three ministers ; which struck such a terror into those of London, that when they received the council's letter, they were perfectly submissive, and after returning thanks for their own liberties, they promised to expel all such out of their church ; and for the future not to receive any English, who from such principles, should separate themselves from the customs of their own country.

Gualter, Bullinger, and other foreign divines, again this year addressed the Bishops their correspondents, for moderation, but nothing could be obtained ; only Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, lamented the case, and wished to God, that all the English people would follow the church of Zurich, as the most absolute pattern. " The papists, says he, lift up their crests, while protestants walk about

the streets dejected and sorrowful ; for at this time there are not a few preachers, that have laid down their cures of souls, and left them to fools and idiots, and that for this reason, because they would not use the linen garment, called a surplice. New and severe edicts are lately published here, against such as refuse to observe our ceremonies : Pray God give a good issue, and have mercy upon all the churches of Christ."

The prophesyings of the clergy, begun in 1571, had by this time spread into the dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely; the Bishop of London set them up in several parts of his diocese; as did most of the other Bishops. The clergy were divided into classes, or associations, under a moderator appointed by the Bishop; their meetings were once a fortnight; the people were present at the sermon; and after they were dismissed, the members of the association whose names were subscribed in a book, censured the performance. These exercises were of great service, to expose the errors of popery, and spread the knowledge of the scriptures among the people.

But the Queen was told by the Archbishop, that they were no better than seminaries of puritanism; that the more averse the people were to popery, the more they were in danger of non-conformity: that these exercises tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive, that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors as they ought. It was said further, that some of the ministers disused the habits, and discoursed on church discipline; and that others were too forward to shew their abilities, to the discouragement of honest men of lower capacities; and that all this was notorious in the diocese of Norwich. Hereupon the Queen gave the Archbishop private orders, to put them down every where, and to begin with Norwich; his grace accordingly wrote to Matchet, one of his chaplains in that diocese, requiring him to repair to his ordinary, and shew him, how the Queen had willed him to suppress those vain prophesyings; and that thereupon he should require the said ordinary, in her Majesty's name, immediately to discharge them from any further such doings.

This was very unacceptable news to the good old Bishop, who taking hold of the word *vain*, wrote to the Archbishop, desiring to be resolved, whether he meant thereby the abuse, or some vain speeches used in some of these conferences; or in general, the whole order of those exercises? Of which he freely declared his own approbation, saying, "That they had, and still did bring singular benefit to the church of God, as well in the clergy as in the laity, and were right necessary exercises to be continued, so the same were not abused, as indeed they had not been, unless in one or two places at the most; whereof after he had knowledge, he writ an earnest letter to his chancellor, that such persons as were over busy speakers should be put to silence, unless they would subscribe to the articles of conformity in religion, or else promise not to intermeddle with any matter established and commanded by her Majesty; which was performed accordingly, since which time he had not heard, but all things had succeeded quietly without offence to any."

The Archbishop was vexed at this letter, and wrote back to his chaplain, that it was one of his old griefs, that this Bishop had shewn his letter to his friends, who had eluded its true meaning, by standing upon the word *vain*. It is a pity, says he, that we should shew any vanity in our obedience. In the mean time the Bishop of Norwich, applied to the privy council, who knew nothing of this affair; but were surprized at the Archbishop's order, and gave his lordship instructions to uphold the prophesyings.

The Archbishop was surprized, to see his orders countermanded by the privy council; but his grace took no notice of it to them, only acquainted the Queen with it; by whose direction he renewed his application to the Bishop; that whereas he understood he had received letters from the council, to continue the prophesyings, contrary to the Queen's express command, he desired to know, what warrant they had given him for their proceedings: upon this the Bishop of Norwich wrote back to the Bishop of London, who was one of those that had signed the letter, for advice; but his lordship and the council were afraid to meddle any further.

Parker being thus supported by the Queen, wrote again

to Norwich, commanding the Bishop peremptorily to obey the Queen's orders, upon pain of her Majesty's high displeasure ; and advised him not to be led by fantastical folk, not take such young men into his counsels, who when they had brought him into danger, could not bring him out of it. Of my care I have for you and the diocese, (says the Archbishop) I write thus much.

Upon this the good old Bishop submitted ; and thus were these religious exercises suppressed in one diocese, which was but the prologue to their downfall, over the whole kingdom.

But his lordship did not long survive this distinguishing mark of the Archbishop's displeasure, for towards the latter end of the year, he departed this life, in the sixty-third year of his age, to the great loss of his diocese, and of the whole Church of England. John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, was born at Guildford in Surrey, and educated in Merton College Oxon. He had been domestic chaplain to Queen Catherine Parr, tutor to Bishop Jewel, and rector of the rich parsonage of Clive ; all which he forsook, during the reign of Queen Mary, and was an exile at Zurich in Switzerland, where he was so delighted with the order and discipline of that church, that he could often wish the Church of England had been modelled according to it. He was an open favourer of the puritans, and never entered willingly into any methods of severity against them. He would willingly have allowed a liberty of officiating in the church, to such as could not conform to the ceremonies ; but by command from above, he was forced sometimes to obey his superiors, contrary to his judgment. The Bishop was a zealous protestant, and a great enemy to popery ; a learned divine, a faithful pastor, a diligent and constant preacher, and an example to his flock, in righteousness, in faith, in love, in peace, in word, and in purity. He was exceeding hospitable, and kept a table for the poor ; and was universally beloved, honoured, and esteemed, by his whole diocese.

Many well disposed persons in the parishes of Balsham in Cambridgeshire, and of Strethall in Essex, met together on holidays, and at other times, after they had done work,

to read the scriptures, and to confirm one another in the *christian faith and practice* ; but as soon as the *commissioners* were informed of their assemblies, the *parsons* of the parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them ; though the honest people declared themselves conformable to the orders of the church, and that they met together after dinner, or after supper, upon holidays only for their own and their families instruction, for the reformation of vice, and for a further acquaintance with the word of God. But our Archbishop had rather these poor people should be drinking and gaming at an ale-house, than engaged in a religious assembly, not appointed by public authority.

Mr. Sampson, late dean of Christ church, Oxon, was this year struck with the dead palsy on one side, which made him resign his lecture in the church of Whittington college, which he had held to this time. It was in the gift of the Cloth-worker's company, to whom he recommended Mr. Deering for his successor ; but Deering being silenced for non-conformity, the Archbishop utterly refused him, which Sampson complained of in a letter to the treasurer, humbly desiring that if the Cloth-workers chose him, that his lordship would use his interest with the Archbishop, not to refuse him ; but his grace was inflexible, and so the business miscarried.

Sampson was a most exact man in his principles and morals ; and suffered the loss of all things for a good conscience.

Parker's zeal against the puritans betrayed him sometimes into great inconveniences ; like a true inquisitor, he listened to every idle story of his scouts, and sent it presently to the Queen or council ; and the older he grew, the more did his jealousies prevail. One of his servants acquainted him, that there was a design of the puritans against the life of the lord treasurer and his own ; and that the chief conspirator was one Undertree, encouraged by the great Earl of Leicester : The old Archbishop was almost frightened out of his wits at the news, as appears by the following passage in his letter to the treasurer : This horrible conspiracy says he has so astonished me, that my will and memory are quite gone I would I were dead

before I see with my corporal eyes, that which is now brought to a full ripeness.

The Archbishop sent out his scouts, to apprehend the conspirators that his steward had named, who pretended a secret correspondence with Undertree; and among others who were taken into custody, were the reverend Messrs. Bonham, Brown, and Stonden, divines of great name among the puritans: Stonden had been one of the preachers to the Queen's army, when the Earl of Warwick was sent against the northern rebels. Many persons of honour were also accused, as the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, and others. But when Undertree came to be examined before the council, the whole appeared to be a sham, between Undertree and the Archbishop's steward, to disgrace the puritans, and punish them as enemies to the state, as well as the church. So early was the vile practice of fathering sham plots upon the puritans begun, which was repeated so often in the next age. Undertree had forged letters in the names of Bonham, Stonden, and others; as appeared to a demonstration when they were produced before the council, for they were all written with one hand. When he was examined about his accomplices, he would accuse nobody, but took the whole upon himself; so that their honours wrote immediately to the Archbishop, to discharge his prisoners. But, which is a little unaccountable, neither Undertree nor the Archbishop's steward, received any punishment.

His grace's reputation suffered by this plot; all impartial men cried out against him, for shutting up men of character and reputation in prison, upon such idle reports. The puritans and their friends reflected upon his honour and honesty; and in particular the Bishop of London, and Dr. Chatterton, master of Queen's college, Cambridge. The Earl of Leicester could not but resent his ill usage of him, which he had an opportunity to repay had he been so minded; the Archbishop having executed an act of justice, as he called it, upon a person in the late plot, after he had received a letter from court forbidding him to do it: which was not very consistent with his allegiance. But the Archbishop braved out his conduct against every body, after his own brethren the Bishops, and all the world had abandoned him. One of the last public acts in which he was em-

ployed, was visiting the diocese of Winchester, and in particular the Isle of Wight; and here he made use of such methods of severity as made him talked against, all over the country. This Island was a place of resort for foreign protestants, and sea-faring men of all countries, which occasioned the habits and ceremonies not to be so strictly observed as in other places, their trade and commerce requiring a latitude; when the Archbishop came thither with his retinue, he gave himself no trouble about the welfare of the island, but turned out all those ministers who refused the habits, and shut up their churches. This was so great a concern to the inhabitants, that they sent up their complaints to the Earl of Leicester, who made such a report to the Queen, of the Archbishop's proceedings, that her Majesty immediately gave order, that things should return to their former channel; and when he came to court after his visitation, her Majesty received him coldly, and declared her displeasure against his unseasonable severities. The Bishop of Winchester also complained, that the clergy of his diocese had been sifted in an unmerciful manner; all which instead of softening this prelate, drew from him nothing but angry complaints.

There was but one corner of the British dominions, that our Archbishop's arm could not reach, viz. the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, these had been a receptacle for the French refugees from the Parisian massacre; and lying upon the coasts of France, the inhabitants were chiefly of that nation, and were allowed the use of the Geneva or French discipline, by the lords of the council. An order of the states of France had been formerly obtained, to separate them from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance in Normandy, but no form of discipline having been settled by law, since the reformation, Messrs. Cartwright and Snape were invited to assist the ministers, in framing a proper discipline for their churches: this fell out happily for Cartwright, who being forced to abandon his native country, made this the place of his retreat. The two divines being arrived, one was made titular pastor of Mount Orgueil, in Jersey; and the other of Castle Cornet in Guernsey. The representatives of the several churches, being assembled at St. Peter's Port, in Guernsey, they communicated to them

a draught of discipline, which was debated, and accommodated to the use of those islands, and finally settled the year following. The book consists of twenty chapters, and each chapter of several articles, which were constantly observed in these islands, till the latter end of the reign of James the First, when the liturgy of the Church of England supplanted it.

Though the papists were the Queen's most dangerous enemies, her Majesty had a peculiar tenderness for them; she frequently released them out of prison, and connived at their religious assemblies, of which there were above five thousand in England at this time: many of the Queen's subjects resorted to the Portuguese ambassador's house in Charter-house yard, where mass was publicly celebrated; and because the sheriffs and recorder of London disturbed them, they were committed to the Fleet, by the Queen's express command. At the same time they were practising against the Queen's life. And that their religion might not die with the present age, seminaries were erected and endowed, in several parts of Europe, for the education of English youth, and for providing a succession of missionaries to be sent into England for the propagation of their faith. The first of these was erected, when the kingdom was excommunicated; after which many others were founded, to the unspeakable prejudice of the protestant religion.

The popish nobility and gentry sent over their children to these colleges for education; and it is incredible what a mass of money was collected in England for their maintenance, out of the estates of such catholics, as were possessed of abbey-lands; the Pope dispensing with their holding them on these considerations.

The number of students educated in these colleges, may be collected from hence; that according to Saunders an eminent popish writer, there were but thirty old priests remaining in England, this year, the two colleges of Douay and Rome alone, in a very few years, sent over three hundred; and it is not to be doubted, but there was a like proportion from the rest.

About this time began to appear the family of Love, which derived its pedigree from one Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman. By their confession of faith published this year,

it appears they were high enthusiasts ; that they allegorized the doctrines of Revelation, and under a pretence of attaining to spiritual perfection, adopted some odd and whimsical opinions, while they grew too lax in their morals. They had their private assemblies for devotion, for which they tasted of the severities of the government.

But the weight of the penal laws fell heaviest upon some of the German Anabaptists, who refused to join with the Dutch or English churches. There were two sorts of Anabaptists that sprung up with the reformation in Germany ; one was of those who differed only about the subject and mode of baptism, whether it should be administered to infants or in any other manner, than by dipping the whole body under water. But others who bore that name, were mere enthusiasts, men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who broke out into a general revolt, and raised the war called the rustic war. They had an unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they usually turned into allegory ; and these being joined in the common name of Anabaptists, brought the others under an ill character. Twenty-seven of them were apprehended in a private house, without Aldersgate, where they were assembled for worship ; four of them recanted, but others refusing, eleven of them all Dutchmen, were condemned in the consistory of St. Paul's to be burnt, nine of whom were banished, and two suffered in Smithfield. Thus the writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, which had hung up only *in terrorem* for seventeen years, was taken down and put in execution, upon these unhappy men. The Dutch congregation interceded earnestly for their lives ; as did Mr. Fox the martyrologist, in an elegant latin letter to the Queen, but she was immoveable.

A little before the burning of these heretics, Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life : he was born at Norwich, 1504, and educated in Bennet College, Cambridge. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, he married, and was therefore obliged to live privately under Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, he was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury ; and how he managed in that high station, may be collected from the foregoing history. He wrote a book entitled *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, which shows him to have had some skill in ecclesiastical antiquity ;

but he was a severe churchman ; of a rough and uncourtly temper, and of high and arbitrary principles both in church and state ; a slave to the prerogative and the supremacy ; and a bitter enemy to the puritans, whom he persecuted beyond the limits of the law. His religion consisted in a servile obedience to the Queen's injunctions, and in regulating the public service of the church : but he had too little regard for public virtue ; his entertainments and feasting being chiefly on the Lord's day. He was a considerable benefactor to Bennet College, the place of his education, where he ordered his MS. papers to be deposited, which have been of considerable service to the writers on the English reformation. He died of the stone in the seventy-second year of his age, and was interred in Lambeth Chapel, where his body rested till the end of the civil wars ; when Colonel Scott having purchased that palace, took down the monument and buried the bones in a dung-hill, where they remained till some years after the restoration, when they were decently deposited near the place where the monument had stood, which was now again erected to his memory.

CHAP. VI.



ELIZABETH.

Parliamentary Proceedings.—Rise of the Controversy about Discipline.—Ministers Deprived.—Death of Bishop Pilkington.—Prophecyings regulated.—Suppressed.—Archbishop Grindal sequestered and confined.—Dean Whittington's troubles.—His death.—Great scarcity of Preachers.—Sufferings of Mr. Stubbs.—Full Conformity required.—Statutes against seducing the Queen's Subjects to Popery, and obliging to attend the Church.—Rise of the Brownists.—Their principles.—Their persecutions.—Execution of Campion the Jesuit.—Mr. Wright's sufferings.—Mr. Copping and Mr. Thacker put to death for Non-Conformity.—Low State of Religion.—Death and Character of Mr. Gilping.—Death of Archbishop Grindal.

GRINDAL, Archbishop of York, succeeded Parker in the see of Canterbury. He was a divine of moderate principles, and moved no faster in severity against the puritans, than his superiors obliged him. Sandys was translated from London to York, and Aylmer was advanced to the see of London. This last was one of the exiles, and had been a favourer of puritanism. In the convocation of 1562, when the question about the habits was debated, he withdrew, and would not be concerned in the affair; but on his advancement he became a new convert, and a cruel persecutor of the Puritans. He was a man of a quick spirit, and of no extraordinary character.

The parliament being now sitting, a bill was brought into the house of Lords, to mulct such as did not come

to church and receive the sacrament, with the payment of certain sums of money: but it was thought proper to drop it for the present. The convocation was busy in framing articles, on the admitting of fit persons to the ministry, and establishing good order in the church. Thirteen of them were published with the Queen's licence, though they had not the broad seal; but the other two, for marrying at all times of the year, and for private baptism in cases of necessity, her Majesty would not countenance. One of the articles makes void all licences for preaching, but provides, that such as should be thought meet for that office, should be re-admitted without difficulty or charge. This had been practised once and again in Parker's time, and was now renewed, that by disqualifying the whole body of the clergy, they might clear the church of all the non-conformists at once; and if all the bishops had been equally severe, in renewing their licences, the church would have been destitute of all preaching; for the body of the conforming clergy were so ignorant and illiterate, that many who had cure for souls, were incapable of preaching, or even of reading to the edification of the hearers; being obliged by law only to read the service, and administer the sacrament in person once in half a year, on forfeiture of five pounds to the poor.

The non-conformist ministers, under the character of curates or lecturers, supplied the defects of these idle drones, for a small recompence from the incumbent, and the voluntary contribution of the parish; and by their warm and affectionate preaching, gained the hearts of the people: they resided upon their curacies, and went from house to house, visiting their parishioners, and instructing their children, as long as they could keep their licences. Thus most of the puritan ministers remained as yet within the church, and their followers attended upon the word and sacraments in such places, where there were sober and orthodox preachers.

But still they continued their associations and private assemblies for recovering the discipline of the church, to a more primitive standard: this was a grievance to the Queen and Court Bishops, who were determined against all *such* innovations. Strange! That men should confess in their

public service, every first day of Lent, that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church; that this discipline is not exercised at present in the Church of England, but that it is much to be wished that it were restored; and yet that they should not only never attempt to restore it, but set themselves with violence and oppression, to crush all endeavours that way! for the reader will observe, that this was one chief occasion of the sufferings of the puritans, in the following part of this reign.

Some of the ministers of Northampton and Warwickshire, in one of their associated meetings, agreed upon certain rules of discipline in their several parishes; but as soon as they began to practise them, the Court took the alarm, and sent letters to the new Archbishop to suppress them. His grace accordingly sent to the Bishops of those dioceses, to see things reduced to their former state, and if need were, to send for assistance from himself or the ecclesiastical commissioners: accordingly the two heads of the association, were taken into custody, and sent up to London. Some time after there was another assembly at Mr. Knewstubb's church, 'at Cockfield in Suffolk, where sixty clergymen of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, met to confer on the common prayer, and come to some agreement as to what might be tolerated, and what was to be refused. They consulted also about apparel, holidays, &c. From thence they adjourned to Cambridge, at the time of the next commencement, and from thence to London, where they hoped to be concealed, by the general resort of the people to parliament. Their design was to introduce a reformation without a separation. The chief debate in their assemblies was, how far this or the other particular might consist with the peace of the church, and be moulded into a consistency with episcopacy. They ordained no ministers; and though they maintained the choice of the people to be the essential call to the pastoral charge, yet most of them admitted of ordination and induction by the bishop only, as the officer appointed by law, that the minister might be enabled to demand his legal dues from the parish.

In the room of that pacific prelate Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, the Queen nominated Dr. Freke, a divine of a quite different spirit, who in his primary visitation, made

sad havoc among the puritan ministers. Among others who were suspended in that diocese, were, Messrs. More, Crick, Leeds, Roberts, and Dowe, all ministers in or near the city of Norwich: they addressed the Queen and council for relief; but were told, that her Majesty was fully bent to remove all who would not be persuaded to conform to established orders. Mr. Gawton, minister of Goring, in the same diocese, being charged with not wearing the surplice, nor observing the order of the Queen's book, he confessed the former, but said that in other things he was conformable, though he did not keep exactly to the rubric. When the Bishop charged him with holding divers errors, he answered, we are here not above half a dozen unconformable ministers in this city; and if you will confer with us by learning, we will yield up our very lives, if we are not able to prove our doctrines to be consonant to the word of God. After his suspension, he sent his lordship a bold letter, in which he maintained, that Christ was the only lawgiver in his church.

Mr. Harvey, another minister of the same city, was cited before the Bishop, for preaching against the hierarchy of bishops and their ecclesiastical officers; and for which he was suspended from his ministry, with Messrs. Vincent, Goodwin, and John Mapes. Mr. Rockrey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, a person of great learning and merit, was expelled the University for non-conformity to the habits. Lord Burleigh the chancellor got him restored, and dispensed with for a year, at the end of which, the master of his college admonished him three times, to conform himself to the custom of the University in the habits, which he refusing, was finally discharged, as an example to others. About the same time, Mr. Greenham, minister of Drayton, was suspended, a man of a most excellent spirit, who though he would not subscribe or conform to the habits, avoided speaking of them, that he might not give offence; and whoever reads his letter to Cox, Bishop of Ely, will wonder what sort of men they must be, who could bear hard on so peaceable a divine. * Some time before the death of Archbishop Parker, Mr. Stroud the suspended minister of Cranbrook, returned to his parish church, but being represented to the present Archbishop as a disturber of the peace, he

was forbid to continue his accustomed exercises in the church, and commanded to leave the country; but the good man was so universally beloved, that the whole county of Kent almost, signed petitions to the Archbishop, for his continuance among them. Such a reputation had this good man among all who had any taste for true piety, and zeal for the protestant religion! By the threatening of Aylmer, Bishop of London, he had been prevailed with to subscribe with some reserve, for the support of a starving family; and yet he was continually vexed in the spiritual courts.

Two eminent divines of puritan principles died this year; one was James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; he was descended from a considerable family near Bolton in Lancashire, and was educated in St. John's, Cambridge, of which he was master. In the reign of Mary, he was an exile for the gospel; upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was nominated to the see of Durham, being esteemed a learned man and a profound divine; but could hardly be prevailed with to accept it, on account of the habits, to which he expressed a very great dislike; he was always a great friend and favourer of the non-conformists, and a truly pious bishop. He died in peace at his house at Bishops Auckland, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. The other was Mr. E. Deering. He was fellow of Christ College Cambridge, a pious and faithful preacher, a learned man and fine orator, but in one of his sermons before the Queen, took the liberty to say, that when her Majesty was under persecution, her motto was *Tanquam ovis*; but now it might be, *Tanquam indomita juvenca*, As an untamed heifer: for which he was forbid preaching at Court for the future, and lost all his preferments in the church.

Archbishop GRINDAL had endeavoured to regulate the prophesyings, and cover them from the objections of the Court, by enjoining the ministers to observe decency and order, by forbidding them to meddle with politics and church government, and by prohibiting all non-conformist ministers and laymen from being speakers. The other Bishops also in their several dioceses, published a number of conciliatory regulations. But the Queen was resolved to suppress them; and having sent for the Archbishop, told him, she was informed that the rites and ceremonies of

the church, were not duly observed in these prophesyings ; that persons not lawfully called to be ministers exercised in them : that the assemblies themselves were illegal, not being allowed by public authority ; that the laity neglected their secular affairs, by repairing to these meetings, which filled their heads with notions, and might occasion disputes and seditions in the state ; that it was good for the church to have but few preachers, three or four in a county being sufficient. She further declared her dislike of the number of these exercises, and therefore commanded him peremptorily to put them down. Letters of this tenor were sent to all the Bishops in England ; most of whom complied readily with the Queen's letter, and put down the prophesyings ; but some did it with reluctance, and purely in obedience to the royal command.

But our Archbishop, he who had complied with all the Queen's injunctions, and with the severities of the ecclesiastical commissioners against the puritans hitherto, is now distressed in conscience, and constrained to disobey the royal commands in an affair of much less consequence than others he had formerly complied with. Instead therefore of giving directions to his archdeacons, to execute the Queen's commands, he writes a long and earnest letter to her Majesty, to inform her of the necessity and usefulness of preaching, and of the subserviency of the exercises ; in the conclusion of which he puts her in mind, that though she was a great and mighty princess, she was nevertheless a mortal creature, and accountable to God : and concludes with a declaration, that whereas before there were not three able preachers, now there were thirty fit to preach at Paul's Cross, and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. That therefore he could not without offence of the majesty of God, send out injunctions for suppressing the exercises. The Queen was so inflamed with this letter, that she determined to make an example of the honest Archbishop, as a terror to the whole bench : she would not suffer her commands to be disputed by the primate of all England, but by an order from the star chamber, confined him immediately to his house, and sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function for six

months. This was a high display of the supremacy, when the head of the church, being a woman, without consulting the Bishops, or any of the clergy in convocation assembled, shall pronounce so peremptorily in a matter purely respecting religion; and for non-compliance, tie up the hands of her Archbishop, who is the first mover under the prince in all ecclesiastical affairs.

Before the expiration of the six months, Grindal was advised to make his submission, which he did so far as to acknowledge the Queen's mildness and gentleness in his restraint, and to promise obedience for the future; but he could not be persuaded to retract his opinion, and confess his sorrow for what was past; there was therefore some talk of depriving him, which being thought too severe, his sequestration was still continued till about a year before his death; however his grace never recovered the Queen's favour. Thus ended the prophesyings, or religious exercises of the clergy; an useful institution for promoting christian knowledge and piety, at a time when both were at a very low ebb in the nation. The Queen put them down for no other reason, but because they enlightened the people's minds in the scripture, and encouraged their enquiries after truth; her Majesty being always of opinion, that knowledge and learning in the laity, would only endanger their peaceable submission to her absolute will and pleasure.

This year put an end to the life of that eminent divine, Mr. T. Lever, a great favourite of Elizabeth till he refused the habits. He was master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers in those times. He had a true zeal for the protestant religion, and was an exile for it, all the reign of Mary. Upon Elizabeth's accession, he might have had the highest preferment in the church, but could not accept it, upon the terms of subscription and wearing the habits; he was therefore suspended by the ecclesiastical commissioners; till his great name, and singular merit, reflecting an odium upon those who had deprived the church of his labours, and exposed him a second time to poverty and want, he was at length dispensed with, and made Archdeacon of Coe, and master of Sherburne

hospital, near Durham, where he spent the remainder of his days, in great reputation and usefulness: he was a resolute non-conformist, and wrote letters to encourage the deprived ministers to stand by their principles, and wait patiently for a further reformation. Had he lived a little longer, he had been persecuted by the new Bishop, as his brother, Whittingham was; but God took him away from the evil to come: and he was succeeded in the hospital, by his brother Ralph Lever.

Mr. Cartwright upon his return from the isle of Guernsey, was chosen preacher to one of the English factories at Antwerp: these factories submitted to the discipline of the Dutch churches, among whom they lived, and their ministers became members of the consistories. While Cartwright was here, many of the English, who were not satisfied with the terms of conformity, or the English manner of giving orders, went over thither, and were ordained by the presbyters of those churches; nay, some who had received deacons orders in the church of England, chose to be made full ministers by the foreign consistories.

Pilkington, late Bishop of Durham, was succeeded by Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, a prelate of severer principles than his predecessor; who having in vain attempted to reduce the clergy of his diocese to an absolute conformity, complained to his metropolitan of the lax government of his predecessor, and of the numbers of non-conformists, whom he could not reduce to the established orders of the church. Upon this Sandys, the new Archbishop of York, resolved to visit his whole province, and to begin with Durham, where Dean Whittingham was the principal man under the Bishop; he was a divine of great learning, and of long standing in the church, but not ordained according to the form of the English service. The accusation against him, was branched out into thirty-five articles, and forty-nine interrogatories, the chief whereof was his Geneva ordination. The dean, instead of answering the charge, stood by the rights of the church of Durham, and denied the Archbishop's power of visitation, upon which his grace was pleased to excommunicate him; but Whit-

tingham appealed to the Queen, who directed a commission to the Archbishop, to the lord president of the council in the north, and to the Dean of York, to determine the validity of his ordination, and to enquire into the other misdemeanors contained in the articles. The president of the north was a favourer of the puritans, and Dr. Hutton, Dean of York, was of Whittingham's principles, and boldly averred, that the dean was ordained in a better sort than even the Archbishop himself; so that the commission came to nothing.

But Sandys, vexed at the disappointment, and at the calling in question his right of visitation, obtained another commission directed to himself, and some others whom he could depend upon, to visit the church of Durham. The chief design was to deprive Whittingham as a layman: when the dean appeared before the commissioners, he produced a certificate under the hands of eight persons, for the manner of his ordination in these words:—"It pleased God, by the suffrages of the whole congregation, at Geneva, orderly to choose Mr. W. Whittingham, unto the office of preaching the word of God and ministering the sacraments; and he was admitted minister; and so published, with such other ceremonies as here are used and accustomed." It was objected, that here was no mention of a bishop or a superintendent, nor of any external solemnities, nor so much as of imposition of hands; the dean replied, there was mention in general of the ceremonies of that church, and that he was able to prove his vocation to be the same that all the ministers of Geneva had: upon which the Lord president rose up and said, that he could not in conscience agree to deprive him for that cause only, for (says he) it will be ill taken by all the godly and learned both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a reformed church; whereupon the commission was adjourned *sine die*.

But the death of Mr. Whittingham, which happened about six months after, put an end to this and all his other troubles: he was born in Chester, and educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon; he was afterwards translated to Christ Church, when it was founded by Henry the

Eighth being reckoned one of the best scholars in the University. In the reign of Queen Mary, he was with the exiles at Frankfort, and upon the division there went with part of the congregation to Geneva, and became their minister. He had a great share in translating the Geneva Bible, and the psalms in metre. Upon his return home, he was preferred to the deanery of Durham, where he spent the remainder of his life. He did good service against the popish rebels in the north, and in repelling the Archbishop of York, from visiting the church of Durham; but he was at best but a lukewarm conformist, an enemy to the habits, and a promoter of the Geneva doctrine and discipline. However, he was a truly pious and religious man, an excellent preacher, and an ornament to religion. He died while the cause of his deprivation, for not being ordained according to the rites of the English church, was depending in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

We have mentioned the Bishop of Norwich's severity in the primary visitation; his lordship went on still in the same method, not without some marks of unfair designs; for the incumbent of Sprowton, being suspected to be of the family of Love, his lordship deprived him, and immediately begged the living for his son-in-law, who was already archdeacon of Suffolk. He shewed no mercy to his suspended clergy, though they offered to subscribe, as far as the laws of the realm required. At length they petitioned their metropolitan Grindal, who though in disgrace, licensed them to preach throughout the whole diocese of Norwich, *durante beneplacito*, provided they did not preach against the established orders of the church, nor move contention about ceremonies; but still they were deprived of their livings.

Mr. Lawrence, an admired preacher, and incumbent of a parish in Suffolk, was suspended by the same Bishop, for not complying with the rites and ceremonies of the church. Mr. Calthorp, a gentleman of quality in the county, applied to the lord treasurer in his behalf; and the treasurer writ to the bishop, requesting him to take off his sequestration; but his lordship replied, that what he had done was by virtue of the Queen's letter to him,

requiring him to allow of no ministers, but such as were perfectly conformable. Mr. Calthorp replied, and urged the great want the church had of such good men, as Mr. Lawrence, for whose fitness for his work, he would undertake the chief gentlemen of credit in the county should certify; but his sequestration was still continued. The like severities were used in most other dioceses. The Bishop of London came not behind the chief of his brethren in his persecuting zeal against the puritans; he gave out orders for apparitors and other officers, to go from church to church, in time of divine service, to observe the conformity of the minister, and make report to her Majesty's commissioners. As this prelate had no compassion in his nature, he had little or no regard to the laws of his country, or the cries of the people after the word of God.

Great was the scarcity of preachers about England, at this time; in the large and populous town of Northampton, there was not one, nor had been for a considerable time, though the people applied to the Bishop of the diocese, by most humble supplication for the bread of life. In the county of Cornwall there were one hundred and forty clergymen, not one of which was capable of preaching a sermon, and most of them were pluralists and non-residents. Even the city of London, was in a lamentable case. One half of the churches at least were destitute of preaching ministers. The people of Cornwall complained that the greatest part of their churches, then one hundred and sixty in number, were supplied by men who were guilty of the grossest sins.

The ground of this scarcity, was no other than the severity of the high commission, and the narrow terms of conformity. Most of the old incumbents, says Dr. Keltridge, are disguised papists, fitter to sport with the timbrel and pipe, than to take into their hands the book of the Lord, and yet there was a rising generation of valuable preachers, ready for the ministry; if they might have been encouraged; for in a supplication of some of the students of Cambridge to the parliament about this time, they acknowledge, that there were plenty of able and well furnished men among them, but that they could

not get into places upon equal conditions; but unlearned men, nay the scum of the people, were preferred before them; so that in this great want of labourers, we (say they) stand idle in the market-place all the day, being urged with subscriptions before the Bishops, to approve the Romish hierarchy, and all the effects of that government, to be agreeable to the word of God, which with no safety of conscience we can accord unto. They then offer a conference or disputation, as the Queen and parliament shall agree, to put an amicable end to these differences, that the church may recover some discipline, that simony and perjury may be banished, and that all who are willing to promote the salvation of souls, may be employed; but the Queen and Bishops were against it.

All the public conversation at this time, ran upon the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a French papist, which was thought to be as good as concluded; the protestant part of the nation were displeased with it, and some expressed their dark apprehensions in the pulpit. The puritans in general made a loud protest against the match, as dreading the consequences of a protestant body being under a popish head. Mr. John Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's Inn, whose sister Mr. Cartwright had married, a gentleman of excellent parts, published a treatise this summer, entitled the *Gaping Gulph* wherein England will be swallowed up with the French marriage; wherewith the Queen was so incensed, that she immediately issued out a proclamation to suppress the book, and to apprehend the author and printer. At the same time the lords of the council wrote circular letters to the clergy, to remove all surmises about the danger of the reformation, in case the match should take place, assuring them the Queen would suffer no alterations in religion, by any treaty with the Duke, and forbidding them in their sermons or discourses to meddle with such high matters. Mr. Stubbs the author, Singleton the printer, and Page the disperser of the above-mentioned book, were apprehended, and sentenced to have their right hands cut off, by virtue of a law made in Mary's reign, against the authors and dispersers of seditious writings. The printer was pardoned, but Mr. Stubbs and Page were brought to a scaffold,

erected in the market-place at Westminster, where with a terrible formality their right hands were cut off by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet; but I remember, says Camden, being present, that as soon as Stubbs' right hand was cut off, he pulled off his hat with his left, and said with a loud voice, God save the Queen; to the amazement of the spectators, who stood silent, either out of horror of the punishment, or pity to the man, or hatred to the match. Mr. Stubbs proved afterwards a faithful subject to her Majesty, and a valiant commander in the wars of Ireland.

At the beginning of the next sessions of parliament the commons voted, that as many of their members as conveniently could, should on the Sunday fortnight, assemble and meet together, in the Temple Church, there to have preaching, and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's spirit in all their consultations, during this parliament; and for the preservation of the Queen's Majesty and her realms. The house was so cautious as not to name their preachers, for fear they might be thought puritanical, but referred it to such of her Majesty's privy council, as were members of the house. There was nothing in this vote contrary to law, or unbecoming the wisdom of parliament, but the Queen was no sooner acquainted with it, than she sent word by her vice-chamberlain, that she did much admire at so great a rashness in that house, as to put in execution such an innovation, without her privy and pleasure first made known to them. Upon which it was moved by the couriers, that the house should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave, forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future; which was voted accordingly. A mean and abject spirit in the representative body of the nation!

Her Majesty having forbid her parliament to appoint times for fasting and prayer, took hold of the opportunity, and gave the like injunctions to her clergy; some of whom, after the putting down of the Prophesyings, had ventured to agree upon days of private fasting and prayer for the Queen and church; and for exhorting the people to

repentance and reformation of life, at such times and places where they could obtain a pulpit. All the puritans and the more devout part of the conforming clergy, fell in with these appointments; sometimes there was one at Leicester; sometimes at Coventry and at Stamford, and in other places; where six or seven neighbouring ministers joined together in their exercises; but as soon as the Queen was acquainted with them, she sent a warm message to the Archbishop to suppress them, as being set up by private persons, without authority, in defiance of the laws, and of her prerogative.

Mr. Prowd, the puritan minister of Burton upon Dunmore, complains in a melancholy letter to Lord Burleigh, of the sad state of religion, by suppressing the exercises; and by forbidding the meeting of a few ministers and christians, to pray for the preservation of the protestant religion, in this dangerous crisis, of the Queen's marrying with a papist. He doubted whether his lordship dealt so plainly with her Majesty, as his knowledge of these things required, and begs him to interpose. But the Queen was determined against all prayers, except what herself should appoint.

The petitions and supplications to parliament from London, Cornwall, and some other places, for redress of grievances, met with no success, the House was so intimidated by the Queen's spirited behaviour, that they durst not interpose any further than in conjunction with some of the Bishops, to petition her Majesty as head of the church, to redress them. The Queen promised to take order about it, with all convenient speed; putting them in mind at the same time, that all motions for reformation in religion, ought to arise from none but herself. But her Majesty's sentiments differed from the parliaments; her greatest grief was the increase of puritans and non-conformists, and therefore instead of easing them, she girt the laws closer about them, in order to bring them to an exact conformity. Information being given, that some who had livings in the church, and preached weekly, did not administer the sacrament to their parishioners in their own persons, her Majesty commanded her Bishops in their visitations, to enquire after such half conformists, as disjoined one

part of their functions from the other, and to compel them by ecclesiastical censures to perform the whole, at least twice a year. The puritan ministers being dissatisfied with the promiscuous access of all persons to the communion, and with several passages in the office for the Lord's supper, some of them used to provide qualified clergymen to administer the ordinance in their room; but this was now made a handle for their ejection: inquisition was made, and those who after admonition would not conform to the Queen's pleasure, were sent for before the commissioners and deprived.

Though the springs of discipline moved but slowly in the diocese of Canterbury, because the metropolitan, who is the first mover in ecclesiastical causes under the Queen, was suspended and in disgrace; yet the sufferings of the puritans were not lessened, the other Bishops who were in the high commission, doubling their diligence; Messrs. Nash, Drewet, and several others were shut up in the prisons in and about London. Those who were at liberty had nothing to do, for they might not preach in public, without full conformity; nor assemble in private to mourn over their own and the nation's sins, without the danger of a prison. This exasperated their spirits, and put them upon writing satirical pamphlets against their adversaries; in some of which, there are coarse and stinging reflections on the unpreaching clergy, calling them, "dumb dogs," because they took no pains for the instruction of their parishioners; the authors glanced at the severity of the laws; at the pride and ambition of the Bishops; at the illegal proceedings of the high commission, and at the unjustifiable rigors of the Queen's government; which her Majesty being informed of, procured a statute this very parliament, whereby it is enacted, that—"If any person or persons, forty days after the end of this session, shall write, or print, or set forth any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any matter, to the defamation of the Queen's majesty, or to the encouraging of any insurrection or rebellion within this realm, &c. the said offenders, upon sufficient proof by two witnesses, shall suffer death and loss of goods, as in case of felony."—This statute was to continue in force only during

the life of the present Queen; but within that compass of time, sundry of the puritans were put to death by virtue of it.

In the same session of parliament, another severe law was made, which like a two-edged sword cut down both papists and puritans; it was entitled, An act to retain the Queen's subjects in their due obedience: "By which it is made treason, for any priest or jesuit to seduce any of the Queen's subjects, from the established to the romish religion. If any shall reconcile themselves to that religion, they shall be guilty of treason: and to harbour such above twenty days, is misprision of treason. If any one shall say mass, he shall forfeit two hundred marks and suffer a year's imprisonment; and they that are present at hearing mass, shall forfeit one hundred marks and a year's imprisonment."—But that the act might be more extensive, and comprehend protestant non-conformists, as well as papists, it is further enacted,—“That all persons that do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit twenty pounds per month to the Queen, being thereof lawfully convicted, and suffer imprisonment till paid. Those that are absent for twelve months shall, upon certificate made thereof into the King's Bench, besides their former fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties in a bond of two hundred pounds, for their good behaviour. Every school-master, that does not come to common-prayer, shall forfeit ten pounds a month, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a years imprisonment.”—This was making merchandize of the souls of men; for it is a sad case, to sell men a licence to do, that which the receivers of their money conceive to be unlawful. Besides the fine was unmerciful; by the act of uniformity, it was twelve pence a Sunday for not coming to church, but now twenty pounds a month; so that the meaner people had nothing to expect, but to rot in jails; which made the officers unwilling to apprehend them. Thus the Queen and her parliament tacked the puritans to the papists, and subjected them to the same penal laws, as if they had been equal enemies to her person and government, and to the protestant religion. A precedent followed by several parliaments in the succeeding reigns.

But these violent measures, instead of reconciling the puritans to the church, drove them further from it. Men who act upon principles, will not easily be beaten from them with the artillery of canons, injunctions, subscriptions, fines, imprisonments, &c. much less will they esteem a church, that fights with such weapons. Multitudes were by these methods carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced, as not to allow the Church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the word and the sacraments. These were the people called **BROWNISTS**, from one Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of an ancient and honourable family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Cecil; he was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and preached sometimes in Bennet church, where the vehemence of his delivery, gained him reputation with the people. He was first a school-master, then a lecturer at Islington: but being a fiery, hot-headed young man, he went about the countries, inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them. He was first taken notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the custody of the sheriff of the county, but upon acknowledgment of his offence, he was released. In the year 1582, he published a book, called, "the life and manners of true christians;" to which is prefixed, "a treatise of reformation without tarrying for any; and of the wickedness of those preachers who will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them." For this he was sent for again into custody, and upon examination confessed himself the author, but denied that he was acquainted with the publication of the book; whereupon he was dismissed a second time, at the intercession of the Lord Treasurer, and sent home to his father with whom he continued four years; after this he travelled up and down the countries, in company with his assistant Richard Harrison, preaching against bishops, ceremonies, ecclesiastical courts, ordaining of ministers, &c. for which, as he afterwards

boasted, he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. At length he gathered a separate congregation of his own principles; but the Queen and her Bishops watching them narrowly, they were quickly forced to leave the kingdom. Several of his friends embarked with their effects for Holland; and having obtained leave of the magistrates to worship God in their own way, settled at Middleburgh in Zeeland. Here Mr. Brown formed a church according to his own model; but when his handful of people were delivered from the Bishops, their oppressors, they crumbled into parties among themselves, insomuch that Brown being weary of his office, returned into England, and having renounced his principles of separation, became rector of a church in Northamptonshire: here he lived an idle and dissolute life, according to Fuller, far from that sabbatarian strictness, that his followers aspired after. He had a wife, with whom he did not live for many years, and a church in which he never preached; at length being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish, for demanding a rate of him; and being beloved by no body, the officer summoned him before a neighbouring justice of peace, who committed him to Northampton jail; the decrepid old man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed in a cart, where he fell sick and died, in the eighty-first year of his age.

The revolt of Mr. Brown, broke up his congregation at Middleburgh, but was far from destroying the seeds of separation, that he had sown in several parts of England; his followers increased, and made a considerable figure towards the latter end of this reign; and because some of his principles were adopted and improved, by a considerable body of puritans in the next age, I shall here give an account of them.

The Brownists did not differ from the Church of England in any articles of faith; but were very rigid and narrow in points of discipline. They denied the Church of England to be a true church, and her ministers to be rightly ordained. They maintained the discipline of the Church of England, to be popish and antichristian, and all her

ordinances and sacraments invalid. Hence they forbade their people to join with them in prayer, in hearing, or in any part of public worship; nay, they not only renounced communion with the Church of England, but with all other reformed churches, except such as should be of their own model.

They apprehended, according to scripture, that every church ought to be confined within the limits of a single congregation; and that the government should be DEMOCRATICAL. When a church was to be gathered, such as desired to be members, made a confession of their faith in the presence of each other, and signed a COVENANT, obliging themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel, according to certain rules and agreements therein contained. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciding of all controversies, was in the brotherhood. Their church officers for preaching the word, and taking care of the poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several offices by fasting and prayer, and imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to give a man an indelible character; but as the vote of the brotherhood made him an officer, and gave him authority to preach and administer the sacraments among them; so the same power could discharge him from his office, and reduce him to the state of a private member.

When the number of communicants was larger than could meet in one place, the church divided and chose new officers from among themselves as before, living together as sister churches, and giving each other the right hand of fellowship, or the privilege of communion with either. One church might not exercise jurisdiction or authority over another, but each might give the other counsel, advice, or admonition, if they walked disorderly, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. The powers of their church officers, were confined within the narrow limits of their own society; the pastor of one church might not administer

the sacraments of baptism or the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion, and their immediate children. They declared against all prescribed forms of prayer. Any lay-brother had the liberty of prophesying, or giving a word of exhortation in their church assemblies; and it was usual after sermon, for some of the members to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the doctrines that had been delivered; but as for church censures, they were for an entire separation of the ecclesiastical and civil sword. In short, every church or society of christians meeting in one place, was according to the **BROWNISTS**, a body corporate, having full power within itself, to admit and exclude members to choose and ordain officers; and when the good of the society required it, to depose them without being accountable to any jurisdiction whatsoever.

Some of their reasons for withdrawing from the church are not easily answered: they alleged, that the laws of the realm, and the Queen's injunctions, had made several unwarrantable additions to the institutions of Christ. That there were several gross errors in the church service. That these additions and errors were imposed and made necessary to communion. That if persecution for conscience sake was the mark of a false church, they could not believe the church of England to be a true one. They apprehended further, that the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be mended; that the very pillars of it were rotten, and that the structure must be begun anew. Since therefore all christians are obliged to preserve the ordinances of Christ pure and undefiled, they resolved to lay a new foundation, and keep as near as they could to the primitive pattern, though it were with the hazard of all that was dear to them in the world.

This scheme of the Brownists, seems to be formed upon the practice of the apostolical churches, before the gifts of inspiration and prophecy were ceased and is therefore hardly practicable in these latter ages, wherein the infirmities and passions of private persons, too often take place of their gifts and graces. Accordingly they were involved in frequent quarrels and divisions; but their chief crime was their uncharitableness, in unchurching

the whole christian world, and breaking off all manner of communion in the hearing the word, in public prayer, and in the administration of the sacraments, not only with the church of England, but with all foreign reformed churches, which though less pure, ought certainly to be owned as churches of Christ.

The heads of the Brownists, were Mr. Brown himself and his companion Mr. Harrison, together with Mr. Tyler. and others, who were now in prison for spreading his books; the two last being afterwards put to death for it. The Bishop of Norwich used them cruelly, and was highly displeased with those who shewed them any countenance. When the prisoners above-mentioned, with Mr. Handson and some others, complained to the justices at their quarter-sessions, of their long and illegal imprisonment, their worships were pleased to move the Bishop in their favour; with which his Lordship was so dissatisfied, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment against the justices themselves, and caused them to be summoned before the Queen and council, to answer for their misdemeanors. In the articles, they are charged with countenancing Copping, Tyler, and other disorderly clergymen. They are accused of contempt of his lordship's jurisdiction, in refusing to admit divers ministers whom he had ordained, because they were ignorant and could only read; and for removing one Wood from his living on the same account. Sir R. Jermin and Sir J. Higham, and Robert Ashfield, and T. Badley, Esqrs. gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk, and of the number of the aforesaid justices, gave in their answer to the Bishop's articles in the name of the rest; in which, after asserting their own conformity to the church, they very justly tax his lordship with cruelty, in keeping men so many years in prison, without bringing them to a trial, according to law; and are ashamed that a Bishop of the Church of England should be a patron of ignorance, and an enemy to the preaching of the word of God. Upon this the justices were dismissed. But though the Lord Treasurer, Lord North, and others, wrote to the Bishop, that Mr. Handson, who was a learned and useful preacher, might have a licence granted him, the angry prelate de-

cleared peremptorily, that he never should have one, unless he would acknowledge his fault, and enter into bonds for his good behaviour for the future.

While the Bishops were driving the puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received them into their houses, as chaplains and tutors to their children; not merely out of compassion, but from a sense of their real worth and usefulness; for they were men of undissembled piety, and devotion; mighty in the scriptures; zealous for the protestant religion; of exemplary lives; and indefatigably diligent in instructing those committed to their care. Here they were covered from their oppressors; they preached in the family and catechised the children; which without all question, had a considerable influence upon the next generation,

The papists were very active all over the country; swarms of Jesuits came over from the seminaries abroad, in defiance of the laws, and spread their books of devotion and controversy among the common people; they had their private conventicles almost in every market town in England; in the northern counties they were more numerous than the protestants. This put the government upon enquiring after their priests; many of whom were apprehended, and three were executed for an example, but the rest were spared, because the Queen's match with the Duke of Anjou, was still depending. However the protestants in the Netherlands, being in distress, the Queen assisted them with men and money, for which they delivered into her Majesty's hands, the most important fortresses of their country, which she garrisoned with English. She also sent relief to the French protestants, who were at war with their natural prince; and ordered a collection all over England, for the relief of the city of Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy; which measures were hardly consistent with her own principles of government; but as Rapin observes, Queen Elizabeth's zeal for the protestant religion, was always subordinate to her private interest.

About this time the Queen granted a commission of concealments, to some of her hungry courtiers, by which they

were empowered to enquire into the titles of church lands and livings; all forfeitures, concealments, or lands for which the parish could not produce a legal title, were given to them. The articles of enquiry seem to be levelled against the puritans, but through their sides, they must have made sad havock with the patrimony of the church. This awakened the Bishops, who fell upon their knees before the Queen, and entreated her Majesty, if she had any regard for the church, to supersede the commission; which she did, though it is well enough known, the Queen had no scruple of conscience, about plundering the church of its revenues.

To return to the puritans; Mr. Wright, domestic chaplain to the late Lord Rich of Rochford, fell into the hands of the Bishop of London last year; he was a learned man, and had lived fourteen years in the university of Cambridge; but being dissatisfied with episcopal ordination, went over to Antwerp, and was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbtery of that place. Upon his return home, Lord Rich took him into his family, where he preached constantly in his lordship's chapel, and no where else, because he could obtain no licence from the Bishop. He was an admired preacher; and universally beloved by the clergy of the county, for his great seriousness and piety. While his lordship was alive, he protected him from danger, but his noble patron was no sooner dead, than the Bishop of London laid hands on him, and confined him in the Gate-house, for saying, that to keep the Queen's birth-day as an holyday was to make her an idol. When the good man had been shut up from his family and friends several months, he petitioned the Bishop to be brought to his trial, or admitted to bail. But all the answer his lordship returned was, that he deserved to lie in prison seven years. This usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undisguised honesty and piety, moved the compassion of his keeper, in so much that his poor wife being in child bed and distress, he gave him leave with the private allowance of the Secretary of State, to make her a visit at Rochford, upon his parole; but it happened that Dr. Ford the civilian, meeting him upon the road, acquainted the Bishop with his escape, who there-

upon fell into a violent passion, and sending immediately for the keeper, demanded to see the prisoner. The keeper pleaded the great compassion of the case; but the Bishop threatened to complain of him to the Queen, and have him turned out. Mr. Wright being informed of the keeper's danger, returned immediately to his prison, and wrote to the Lord Treasurer in his behalf, and he was pardoned.

But the Bishop resolved to take full satisfaction of the prisoner; accordingly he sent for him before the commissioners, and examined him upon articles concerning the book of Common Prayer; rites and ceremonies; praying for the Queen and the church; and the established form of ordaining ministers. He was charged with preaching without a licence; and with being no better than a mere layman. To which he made the following answers; that he thought the book of Common Prayer, in the main good and godly, but could not answer for every particular. That as to the rites and ceremonies, he thought his resorting to churches were they were used, was a sufficient proof that he allowed them. That he prayed for the Queen, and for all ministers of God's word, and consequently for archbishops and bishops, &c. That he was but a private chaplain, and knew no law that required a licence for such a place. But he could not yield himself to be a mere layman, having preached seven years in the University with licence; and since that time, having been regularly ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters at Antwerp. The Bishop having charged him with saying, that the election of ministers ought to be by their flocks, he owned it, and supposed it not to be an error; and added further, that in his opinion every minister was a bishop, though not a lord bishop; and that his Lordship of London must be of the same opinion, because when he rebuked Mr. White for striking one of his parishioners, he alleged that text, "That a Bishop must be no striker: which had been impertinent, if Mr. White. being only a minister, had not been a Bishop. When his Lordship charged him with saying, There were no lawful ministers in the Church of England.

he replied, "I will be content to be condemned, if I bring not two hundred witnesses for my discharge of this accusation. I do as certainly believe that there are lawful ministers in England, as that there is a sun in the sky. In Essex I can bring twenty godly ministers, all preachers, who will testify that they love me, and have cause to think that I love and reverence them. I preached seven years in the University of Cambridge with approbation, and have a testimonial to produce, under the hands and seals of the master and fellows of Christ's college, being all ministers at that time, of my good behaviour." However all he could say was to no purpose, the Bishop would not allow his orders, and therefore pronounced him a layman, and incapable of holding any living in the church.

Many honourable gentlemen in Essex petitioned the Bishop of London for a licence, that Mr. Wright might preach publicly in any place within his diocese; but his Lordship always refused it, because he was no minister, that is, had only been ordained among the foreign churches. This was certainly contrary to law; for the statute of 13. Eliz. cap. 12. admits the ministrations of those, who had only been ordained in the manner of the Scots, or other foreign churches. There were some scores, if not hundreds of them, now in the church, and the Archbishop of Canterbury at this very time, commanded Dr. Aubrey, his vicar-general, to licence Mr. Morrison, a Scots divine, who had no other ordination, than what he received from a Scots presbytery, to preach over his whole province. This licence was as full a testimonial of the validity of presbyterian ordination, as can be desired. But the other notion was growing into fashion; all orders of men are for assuming some peculiar characters and powers to themselves; the bishops will be a distinct and superior order to presbyters; and no man must be a minister of Christ, on whom they lay not their hands.

The behaviour of the Bishop of London towards the Puritans, moved the compassion of some of the conforming clergy. The whole country also exclaimed against the Bishops for their high proceedings; the justices of peace of the county of Suffolk were so moved, that notwithstanding his Lordship's late citation of them before

the council, they wrote again to their honours: praying, them to interpose in behalf of the injuries that were offered, to divers godly ministers. The words of their supplications are worth remembering, because they discover the cruelty of the commissioners, who made no distinction between the vilest criminals, and conscientious ministers.—“The painful ministers of the word, say they, are marshalled with the worst malefactors, presented, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment. Some for leaving the holydays unbidden; some for singing the psalm *Nunc dimittis* in the morning; some for turning the questions in baptism concerning faith, from the infants to the god-fathers, which is but *You for Thou*; some for leaving out the cross in baptism; some for leaving out the ring in marriage. A most pitiful thing it is, to see the back of the law turned to the adversary [the papists] and the edge with all the sharpness laid upon the sound and true-hearted subject.”

This supplication produced a letter from the council, to the judges of assize, commanding them not to give ear to malicious informers against peaceful and faithful ministers, nor to match them at the bar with rogues, felons, or papists, but to put a difference in the face of the world, between those of another faith and they who differ only about ceremonies, and yet diligently and soundly preach true religion. The judges were struck with this letter; and the Bishop of London, with his attendants, returned from his visitation full of discontent. Indeed his Lordship had made himself so many enemies, that he grew weary of his bishopric, and petitioned the Queen to exchange it for that of Ely, that he might retire and be out of the way; or rather, that he might kindle a new flame in those parts; but her Majesty refused his request.

Notwithstanding these slight appearances in favour of the puritans, two ministers of the Brownist persuasion were condemned and put to death this summer for non-conformity, viz. Mr. Thacker hanged at St. Edmundsbury, and Mr. Copping two days after. Their indictments were for spreading certain books, seditiously penned by Robert

Brown, against the book of Common Prayer, established by the laws of this realm. *The sedition charged upon Brown's book was, that it subverted the constitution of the church, and acknowledged her Majesty's supremacy civilly, but not otherwise.* This the judges took hold of to aggravate their offence to the Queen, after they had passed sentence upon them, on the late statute against spreading seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy. Mr. Copping had suffered a long and illegal imprisonment from the Bishop of his diocese; his wife being brought to bed while he was under confinement, he was charged with not suffering his child to be baptised; to which he answered, that his conscience could not admit it to be done with god-fathers and god-mothers, and he could get no preacher to do it without. He was accused further with saying, The Queen was perjured, because she had sworn to set forth God's glory directly, as by the scriptures are appointed, and did not; but these were only circumstances, to support the grand charge of sedition, in spreading Brown's book. However, it seemed a little hard to hang men for spreading a seditious book, at a time when Brown, the author of that very book, was pardoned and set at liberty. Both the prisoners died by their principles; for though Dr. Still the Archbishop's chaplain, and others, conferred with them, yet at the very hour of their death they remained immovable. They were both sound in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and of unblemished lives. One Wilsford a layman should have suffered with them, but upon conference with Secretary Wilson, who told him the Queen's supremacy might be understood, only of her Majesty's civil power over ecclesiastical persons, he took the oath and was discharged.

While the Bishops were thus harrassing conscientious ministers, for scrupling the ceremonies of the church, practical religion was at a very low ebb; the fashionable vices of the times were, profane swearing, drunkenness, revelling, gaming, and profanation of the Lord's day; yet there was no discipline for these offenders, nor do I find any such cited into the spiritual courts, or shut up in prisons. If men came to their parish churches, and approved of the habits and ceremonies, other offences

were overlooked, and the court was easy. At Paris Gardens, in Southwark, there were public sports on the Lord's day. On the thirteenth of January being Sunday, it happened that one of the scaffolds, being crowded with people fell down, by which accident some were killed, and a great many wounded. This was thought to be a judgment from heaven; for the lord mayor in the account he gives of it *to the treasurer, says, "that it gives great occasion to acknowledge the hands of God, for such abuse of his sabbath-day, and moveth me in conscience to give order for redress of such contempt of God's service; adding, that for this purpose he had treated with some justices of peace in Surrey, who expressed a very good zeal, but alleged want of commission, which he referred to the consideration of his Lordship."* But the Court paid no regard to such remonstrances; and the Queen had her ends, in encouraging the sports, pastimes, and revellings of the people on Sundays and holidays.

This year died the famous northern apostle Mr. Bernard Gilpin, minister of Houghton in the bishopric of Durham. He was born at Kentwre, in Westmoreland, of an ancient and honourable family, and was entered into Queen's College, Oxford, in the year 1533. He continued a papist all the reign of Henry the Eighth, but was converted by the lectures of Peter Martyr, in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Sixth. He was remarkably honest, and open to conviction, but did not separate from the Romish communion, till he was persuaded the Pope was antichrist. Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, was his uncle by the mother's side, by whose encouragement he travelled to Paris, Lovain, and other parts, being still for the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, though not for transubstantiation. Returning home in the days of Queen Mary, his uncle placed him first in the rectory at Essingdon, and afterwards at Houghton, a large parish containing fourteen villages; here he laboured in the work of the ministry; and was often exposed to danger, but constantly preserved by his uncle Bishop Tonstal, who was averse to burning men for religion. Miserable and heathenish was the condition of these northern counties at this time, with respect to religion! Mr. Gilpin beheld it

with tears of compassion, and resolved at his own expence to visit the desolate churches of Northumberland, and the parts adjoining, once every year to preach the gospel, and distribute to the necessities of the poor, which he continued to his death; this gained him the veneration of all ranks of people in those parts: but though he had such a powerful screen as Bishop Tonsal, yet the fame of his doctrine, which was Lutheran, reaching the ears of Bonner, he sent for him to London; the reverend man ordered his servant to prepare him a long shirt, expecting to be burnt; but before he came to London, Queen Mary died. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Gilpin having a fair estate of his own, erected a grammar school, and allowed maintenance for a master and usher, himself choosing out of the school, such as he liked best for his own private instruction. Many learned men, who afterwards adorned the church by their labours and uprightness of life, were educated by him in his domestic academy. Many gentlemen's sons resorted to him, some of whom were boarded in the town, and others in his own house; besides, he took many poor men's sons under his care, educated and wholly supported them.

In the year 1560, he was offered the bishopric of Carlisle, and was urged to accept it by the Earl of Bedford, Bishop Sandys, and others, with the most powerful motives; but he desired to be excused, and in that resolution remained immoveable. But though Mr. Gilpin would not be a Bishop, he supplied the place of one, by preaching, by hospitality, by erecting schools, by taking care of the poor, and providing for destitute churches; in all which he was countenanced and encouraged, by the learned Pilkington, then Bishop of Durham, by whom he was excused from subscriptions, habits, and a strict observance of ceremonies, it being his fixed opinion, that no human invention should take place in the church, instead of a divine institution. After Bishop Pilkington's death, Dr. Barnes was chosen his successor, who was disgusted at Mr. Gilpin's popularity, and gave him trouble; once when he was setting out upon his annual visitation, the Bishop summoned him to preach before him, which he excused in the handsomest manner he could, and went his progress; but

upon his return, he found himself suspended for contempt, from all ecclesiastical employments. The Bishop afterwards sent for him again on a sudden, and commanded him to preach, but then he pleaded his suspension, and his not being provided; the Bishop immediately took off his suspension, and would not excuse his preaching, upon which he went into the pulpit, and discoursed upon the high charge of a christian Bishop; and having exposed the corruptions of the clergy, he boldly addressed himself to his lordship in these words:—"Let not your lordship say, these crimes have been committed without my knowledge, for whatsoever you yourself do in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own; therefore in the presence of God, angels and men, I pronounce your fatherhood to be the author of all these evils; and I and this whole congregation, will be a witness in the day of judgment, that these things have come to your ears."—All men thought the Bishop would have deprived Mr. Gilpin for this freedom, as soon as he came out of the pulpit, but by the good providence of God, it had a quite different effect, the Bishop thanked him for his faithful reproof; and after this suffered him to go on with his annual progress, giving him no further disturbance. At length his lean body being quite worn out with labour, and feeling the approaches of death, he commanded the poor to be called together, and took a solemn leave of them; afterwards he did the like by his relations and friends; he then giving himself up to God, died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was a heavenly man, endued with a large and generous soul, of a tall stature of body with a roman nose; his clothes were neat and plain; for he was frugal in his own dress, though very bountiful to others. His doors were always open for the entertainment of strangers, He boarded in his own house twenty-four scholars, most of whom were upon charity. He kept a table for the poor every Lord's day, from Michaelmas to Easter, and expended five hundred pounds for a free school for their children. Upon the whole, he was a pious, devout, and open hearted divine; a conscientious non-conformist, but against separation. He was accounted a saint by his very enemies, if he had any such, being full of faith

and good works; and was at last put into his grave, as a shock of corn fully ripe.

The same year died EDMUND GRINDAL, Archbishop of Canterbury, born at Copland in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1519, and educated in Cambridge. He was a famous preacher in King Edward's days, and was nominated by him to a bishopric, when he was only thirty-three years of age; but the King dying soon after, he went into exile, and imbibed the principles of a further reformation, than had as yet obtained in England. Upon Elizabeth's accession, he returned to England, and was advanced first to the see of London, and then to York and Canterbury, though he could hardly persuade himself for some time, to wear the habits, and comply with the ceremonies of the church; nor did he ever heartily approve them, yet thought it better to support the reformation on that foot, than hazard it back into the hands of the papists. He was of a mild and moderate temper, easy of access, and affable even in his highest exaltation. He is blamed by some, for his gentle usage of the puritans, though he used them worse than he would have done, if he had been left to himself. About a year or two after his promotion to the see of Canterbury, he lost the Queen's favour on account of the prophesyings, and was suspended for some years, during which time, many puritan ministers took shelter in the counties of Kent and Surry, &c. which made more work for his successor. The good old Archbishop being blind and broken hearted, the Queen took off his sequestration about a year before his death, and sent to acquaint him, that if he would resign, he should have her favour, and an honourable pension; which he promised to accept within six months; but Whitgift who was designed for his successor, refusing to enter upon the see while Grindal lived, he made a shift to hold it till his death, which happened in the sixty-third year of his age. He was certainly a learned and venerable prelate, and had a high esteem for the name and doctrines of Calvin, with whom, and with the German divines, he held a constant correspondence. His high stations did not make him proud; but if we may believe his successor in the see of York, Archbishop Sandys, he must be tainted with avarice, as most of the Queen's Bishops were; because

within two months after he was translated to Canterbury, he gave to his kinsmen and servants, and sold for round sums of money to himself, six score leases and patents, even then when they were thought not to be good in law. But upon the whole, he was one of the best of Elizabeth's Bishops. He lies buried in the chancel of the church at Croydon, where his effigy is to be seen at length, in his doctor's robes, and in a praying posture.

CHAP. VII.



ELIZABETH.

Whitgift made Archbishop of Canterbury.—His reasons for Subscription.—Distressed state of Non-subscribers.—Their Petitions to the Counsel.—The oath ex officio.—Conference at Lambeth.—Bishop Aylmer's severities against the Puritans.—Remarks.—Hardships of the Country Clergy.—Book of Discipline.—Application of the Puritans to Parliament.—Bills for Reformation.—Puritans apply in vain to Convocation.—State of Popery.—Persecutions.—Writings of Puritans suppressed.—Despair of Redress.—Proceedings of the High Commission.—Quiet behaviour of the Puritans.—Cry of the People for Preaching.—The Puritans' proceedings in their Classes.—Death of Mr. Fox, the Martyrologist.—Rise of the Controversy on the Divine Right of Episcopacy.—Spanish Invasion.

UPON the death of GRINDAL, WHITGIFT, Bishop of Worcester, was translated to the see of Canterbury. He had distinguished himself in the controversy against the Puritans, and was therefore thought the most proper person to reduce their numbers. Upon his advancement, the Queen charged him "to restore the discipline of the church, and the uniformity established by law, which (says her Majesty) through the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the puritans, and the power of some noblemen, is run out of square." Accordingly the very first week, his grace published the following articles, and sent them to the Bishops of his province, for their direction in the govern-

ment of their several dioceses. *Art.* 1. "That all preaching, catechising, and praying in any private family, where any are present besides the family, be utterly extinguished. 2. That none do preach or catechise, except also he will read the whole service, and administer the sacraments four times a year. 3. That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear the habits prescribed. 4. That none be admitted to preach, unless he be ordained according to the manner of the Church of England. 5. That none be admitted to preach, or execute any part of the ecclesiastical function, unless he subscribe the following articles. First, to the Queen's SUPREMACY over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, within her Majesty's dominions. Secondly, to the book of Common Prayer, and of the ordination of priests and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the word of God; and that they will use it in all their public ministrations and no other. Thirdly, to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, agreed upon in the synod of 1562, and afterwards confirmed by parliament." And with what severity his grace enforced these articles, will be seen presently.

It is easy to observe, that they were all levelled at the Puritans; but the most disinterested civil lawyers of these times were of opinion, that his grace had no legal authority to impose those, or any other articles upon the clergy, without the broad seal; and that all his proceedings upon them, were an abuse of the royal prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and consequently so many acts of oppression upon the subject.

Notwithstanding these objections, the Archbishop in his primary metropolitical visitation, insisted peremptorily, that all who enjoyed any office or benefice in the church, should subscribe the three articles above-mentioned; the second of which he knew the Puritans would refuse: accordingly two hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended for not subscribing; besides great numbers in the diocese of Peterborough, in the city of London, and in other counties; some of whom were dignitaries in the church, and most of them graduates in the University; of these some were allowed time, but forty-nine were absolutely deprived at once. Among the

suspended ministers his grace shewed some particular favour to those of Sussex, at the intercession of some great persons; for after a long dispute and many arguments before himself at Lambeth, he accepted of the subscription of six or seven, with their own explication of the rubrics, and with a declaration that their subscription was not to be understood in any other sense, than as far as the books were agreeable to the word of God, and to the substance of religion established in the church of England, and to the analogy of faith; and that it did not extend to any thing not expressed in the said books. Of all which the archbishop allowed them an authentic copy in writing, and ordered his chancellor to send letters to Chichester, that the rest of the suspended ministers in that county, might be indulged the same favour.

Many pious men strained their consciences on this occasion; some subscribed the articles with this protestation in open Court, as far as they are agreeable to the word of God; and others *dempto secundo*, that is, taking away the second. Many upon better consideration, repented their subscribing in this manner, and would have erased their names, but it was not permitted. Some who were allured to subscribe, with the promises of favour, were neglected and forgotten, and troubled in the Commissaries Court as much as before. The Court took no notice of their protestations or reserves; they wanted nothing but their hands, and when they had got them, they were all listed under the same colours, and published to the world as absolute subscribers.

The body of the inferior clergy, wished and prayed for some amendments in the service-book, to make their brethren easy. But Whitgift was to be influenced by no arguments; he was against all alterations in the liturgy, for this general reason, lest the church should be thought to have maintained an error, which is surprizing to come from the mouth of a Bishop who had so lately separated from the infallible church of Rome. His grace's arguments for subscription to his articles, are no less remarkable. 1. If you do not subscribe to the book of common prayer, you do in effect say, there is no true service of God, or administration of sacraments in the land. 2. If

you do not subscribe the book of ordination of priests, &c. then our calling must be unlawful, and we have no true ministry, nor Church in England. 3. If you do not subscribe the book of the thirty-nine articles, you deny true doctrine to be established among us, which is the main note of a true church. Could an honest man, and a great scholar be in earnest with this reasoning? Might not the puritans dislike some things in the service-book, without invalidating the whole? Did not his grace know, that they offered to subscribe to the use of the service-book, as far as they could apprehend it consonant to truth, though they could not give it under their hands, that there was nothing in it contrary to the word of God, nor promise to use the whole, without the least variation, in their public ministry? But according to the archbishop's logic, the church must be infallible, or no church at all. The liturgy must be perfect in every phrase and sentence, or it is no true service of God; and every article of the church must be agreeable to scripture, or they contain no true doctrine at all. He told the ministers, that all who did not subscribe his articles* were schismatics; that they had separated themselves from the church; and declared peremptorily, that they should be turned out of it.

Loud were the cries of these poor sufferers and their distressed families to heaven for mercy, as well as to their superiors on earth! Their temptations were strong, for as men they were moved with compassion for their wives and little ones! and as faithful ministers of Christ, they were desirous to be useful, and to preserve the testimony of a good conscience. Some through frailty, were overcome and submitted, but most of them cast themselves and families upon the providence of God; having wrote to the Queen; to the Archbishop, and to the Lords of the council; and after some time to the parliament, for a friendly conference, or a public disputation, when and where, and before whom they pleased; though without success.

The ministers of Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Essex, Oxfordshire, Kent, London, and those of the diocese of Ely and Cambridgeshire, wrote to the Lords of the council,

representing in most moving language their unhappy circumstances,—“We commend, say they, to your honour’s compassion our poor families, but much more do we commend our doubtful, fearful, and distressed consciences, together with the cries of our poor people, who are hungering after the word, and are now as sheep having no shepherd. We have applied to the Archbishop, but can get no relief, we therefore humbly beg it at your honour’s hands.”—They declare their readiness to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church, according to the statute, 13 Eliz. cap. 12. and to the other articles, as far as they are not repugnant to the word of God. And they promise further, if they may be dispensed with as to subscription, that they will make no disturbance in the church, nor separate from it.

The Kentish ministers in their supplication to the Lords of the council, professed their reverence for the established church, and their esteem for the book of Common Prayer, so far as that they saw no necessity of separating from the unity of the church on that account: that they believed the word preached, and the sacraments administered according to authority, touching the substance, to be lawful. They promised to shew themselves obedient to the Queen, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil; but then they added, that there were many things that needed reformation, which therefore they could not honestly set their hands to. They conclude with praying for indulgence.

The London ministers applied to the convocation, and fifteen of them offered to subscribe to the Queen’s supremacy, to the use of the Common Prayer Book, and to the doctrinal articles of the church, if they might be restored; but then add,—“We dare not say there is nothing in the three books, repugnant to the word of God, till we are otherwise enlightened; and therefore humbly pray our brethren in convocation, to be a means to the Queen and parliament, that we may not be pressed to an absolute subscription, &c.” This petition was presented to the convocation, in the first session of the next parliament, in the name of the ministers of London that had refused to subscribe the articles lately enforced upon

them ; with an humble request to have their doubts satisfied by conference, or any other way.

Among the suspended ministers of London, was the learned and virtuous Mr. Barber, who preached four times a week at Bow church : his parishioners to the number of one hundred and twenty, signed a petition to the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen for his release, but that court could not obtain it. March fourth the learned Mr. Field and Mr. Egerton were suspended. Mr. Field had been often in bonds for non-conformity ; he was Minister of Aldermary, and had admitted an assembly of ministers to be held at his house, among whom were some Scots divines, who being disaffected to the hierarchy, the assembly was declared an unlawful conventicle, and Mr. Field suspended from his ministry for entertaining them ; but the rest were deprived for not subscribing.

Many gentlemen of reputation both in city and country, appeared for the suspended ministers, as well out of regard to their poor families, as for the sake of religion, it being impossible to supply so many vacancies, as were made in the church upon this occasion. The gentlemen of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Kent, interceded with the Archbishop, alleging that it was very hard to deal with men so severely for a few rites and ceremonies, when they were neither heretics nor schismatics, and when the country wanted their usual preaching. The parishioners of the several places from whence the ministers were ejected, signed petitions to the Lord treasurer, and others of the Queen's council, beseeching them, that their ministers being of an upright and holy conversation, and diligent preachers of the word of God, might be restored.

A petition was sent to the council from Norwich, signed with one hundred and seventy six hands, and many letters and supplications from the most populous towns in England. But these appeals of the puritans and their friends, did them no service ; for the watchful Archbishop, whose eyes were about him, wrote to the council to put them in mind,—“ That the cause of the puritans did not lie before them : that he wondered at the presumption of the ministers, to bring his doings in question before their lordships, and

at their proud Spirit, to dare to offer to dispute before so great a body, against the religion established by law, and against a book so painfully penned, and confirmed by the highest authority."—He then adds,—“That it was not for him to sit in his place, if every curate in his diocese must dispute with him; nor could he do his duty to the Queen, if he might not proceed without interruption; but if they would help him, he should soon bring them to comply.”—As to the gentlemen who petitioned for their ministers, he told them to their faces, that he would not suffer their factious ministers, unless they would subscribe: that no church ought to suffer its laudable rites to be neglected: that though the ministers were not heretics, they were schismatics, because they raised a contention in the church, about things not necessary to salvation. And as for lack of preaching, if the gentlemen or parishioners would let him dispose of their livings, he would take care to provide them with able men. Thus this great prelate, who had complied with the popish religion, and kept his place in the university through all the reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all opposition, and to display his sovereign power against those, whose consciences were not as flexible as his own.

But not content with his episcopal jurisdiction, his grace solicited the Queen for a new **ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION**, and gave her Majesty these weighty reasons for it, among others. 1. Because the puritans condemn the ecclesiastical censures. 2. Because the commission may order a search for seditious books, and examine the writers or publishers upon oath, which a Bishop cannot. 3. Because the ecclesiastical commission can punish by fines, which are very commodious to the government; or by imprisonment, which will strike more terror into the puritans. 4. Because a notorious fault cannot be notoriously punished, but by the commission. 5. Because the whole ecclesiastical law, is but a carcase without a soul, unless it be quickned by the commission. The Queen, who was already disposed to methods of severity, easily gave way to the Archbishop's arguments, and ordered a new high commission to be prepared.

The Court of **HIGH COMMISSION** was so called, because

it claimed a larger jurisdiction, and higher powers, than the ordinary courts of the Bishops; its jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom, and was the same in a manner with that which had been vested in the single person of Lord Cromwel, vicar general to King Henry the Eighth, though now put into commission; but the council for Mr. Cawdrey, whose case was argued before all the judges, questioned whether the court had any foundation at all in law: it being doubtful whether the Queen could delegate her ecclesiastical authority, or the commissaries act by virtue of such delegation.

But admitting the court to be legal, it will appear that both the Queen and her commissioners, exceeded the powers granted them by law; for it was not the intendment of the act of supremacy, to vest any new powers in the crown, but only to restore those which were supposed to be its ancient and natural right. Nor do the acts above recited, authorize the Queen to dispense with the laws of the realm, or act contrary to them; or to set aside the ordinary legal course of proceeding, in other courts of judicature, by indictments, witnesses, and a jury of twelve men; nor do they empower her to levy fines, and inflict what corporal punishments she pleases, upon offenders; but in all criminal cases, where the precise punishment is not determined by the statute, her commissioners were to be directed and governed, by the common law of the land.

Yet contrary to the proceedings in other courts, and to the essential freedom of the English constitution, the Queen empowered her commissioners, to enquire into all misdemeanors, not only by the oaths of twelve men, and witnesses, but by **ALL OTHER MEANS AND WAYS THEY COULD DEVISE**; that is, by inquisition, by the rack by torture, or by any ways and means, that forty-four sovereign judges should devise. Surely this should have been limited to ways and means, warranted by the laws and customs of the realm. Further, her Majesty empowers her commissioners, to examine such persons as they suspected upon their **CORPORAL OATHS**, for the better trial and opening of the truth, and to punish those that refused

the oath, by fine or imprisonment, according to their discretion. This refers to the oath *ex officio mera*, and was not in the five first commissions.

It was said in behalf of this oath, by Dr. Aubrey, the civilian, that though it was not warranted by the letter of the statute of the First of Elizabeth, yet the canon law being in force, before the making of that statute, and the commission warranting the commissioners to proceed according to the law ecclesiastical, they might lawfully administer it, according to ancient custom. To which it was answered, That such an oath was never allowed by any canon of the church, or general council, for a thousand years after Christ; that when it was used against the primitive christians, the pagan emperors countermanded it; that it was against the pope's law in the decretals, which admits of such an inquisition only in cases of heresy; nor was it ever used in England, till the reign of Henry Fourth, and then it was enforced as law, only by a haughty Archbishop, without consent of the commons of England, till the 25th of Henry the Eighth, when it was utterly abrogated. This pretended law was again revived by Mary, but repealed by the first of Elizabeth, and so remained. Besides, as this purging men by oath, has no foundation in the law of the land, it is undoubtedly contrary to the law of nature and nations, where this is a received maxim. No man is bound to accuse himself. The Queen therefore had no power to authorize her commissioners, to set up an inquisition, and administer an oath to the suspected person, to answer all questions the court should put to him, and to convict him upon those answers; or if they could confront his declarations, to punish him as perjured.

If any persons disobeyed the orders and decrees of the court, by not appearing at their summons, &c. the commissioners were empowered to punish them by fine or imprisonment, at their discretions. This also was contrary to law, for the body of a subject is to be dealt with according to the law of the land, as *Magna Charta* and the law saith. The clerk felon in the Bishop's prison, is the King's prisoner, and not the Bishop's. If then the Queen by her ecclesiastical commission, could not dispense with the laws of the land, it is evident that the long and arbi-

trary imprisonments of the puritan clergy, before they had been legally convicted, and all their confinements afterwards, beyond the time limited by the statutes, were so many acts of oppression; and every acting Bishop or commissioner, was liable to be sued in an action of false imprisonment.

The law says, no man shall be fined beyond his estate or ability. But the fines raised by this court in the two next reigns, were so exorbitant, that no man was secure in his property; though according to Lord Clarendon, their power of levying any fine at all, was very doubtful. Some for speaking an unmannerly word, or writing what the court was pleased to construe a libel, were fined from five hundred to ten thousand pounds, and perpetual imprisonment; some had their ears cut off and their noses slit, after they had been exposed several days in the pillory; and many families were driven into banishment; till in process of time the court became such a general nuisance, that it was dissolved by parliament, with a clause that no such court should be erected for the future. Further, the commission gives no authority to the court to frame articles, and oblige the clergy to subscribe them. It empowers them to reform all errors, heresies and schisms, which may lawfully be reformed, according to the power and authority, limited and appointed by the laws and statutes of the realm. But there never was a clause in any of the commissions, empowering them to enforce subscription to articles of their own devising. Therefore their doing this, without a special ratification under the great seal, was no doubt an usurpation of the supremacy, and brought them within the compass of a *præmunire*. Lastly, though all spiritual courts (and consequently the high commission) are and ought to be subject to prohibitions from the supreme courts of the law, yet the commissioners would seldom or never admit them, and at length terrified the judges from granting them. So that upon the whole, their proceedings were for the most part contrary to the act of submission of the clergy, contrary to the statute laws of the realm, and no better than a spiritual inquisition.

If a clergyman omitted any of the ceremonies in his public ministrations, or if a parishioner bore an ill-will to his minister; he might inform the commissioners by letter, that he was a suspected person; upon which a messenger was sent to his house with a citation to appear before the commission. The messenger who brought them up, had thirty-three shillings and four-pence for forty-one miles. Upon their appearing before the commissioners, they were committed prisoners seven weeks, before they were called to their trial. When brought to the bar, the court immediately tendered them the oath, to answer all questions to the best of their knowledge; by which they were obliged not only to accuse themselves, but frequently to bring their relations and friends into trouble. The party to be examined, was not to be acquainted with the interrogatories before-hand, nor to have a copy of his answers which were lodged with the secretary of the court, against the day of his trial. If the commissioners could not convict him upon his own confession, then they examined their witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own oath. If they could not reach him, by their ordinary jurisdiction as Bishops, they would then sit as ecclesiastical commissioners. If they could not convict him upon any statute, then they had recourse to their old obsolete law ecclesiastical; so that the prisoner seldom knew by what law he was to be tried, or how to prepare for his defence. Sometimes men were obliged to a long attendance, and at other times condemned in haste without any trial. Mr. Branc, a Cambridge minister, being sent for to Lambeth, made his appearance before the Archbishop and two other commissioners, and being commanded to answer the interrogatories of the court upon oath, he refused unless he might first see them, and write down his answers with his own hand; which his grace refusing, immediately gave him his canonical admonitions, once, twice, and thrice; and caused him to be registered for contempt, and suspended. The twenty-four articles which the Archbishop framed for the service of the court, no honest man could answer upon oath, without exposing himself to the mercy of his adversaries. The wit of man could invent nothing more like an inquisition. When

the Lord treasurer Burleigh had read them, and seen the execution they had done upon the clergy, he wrote his grace the following letter: from which the reader will form a tolerable judgment of their spirit and bearing.

“ *May it please your grace,*

“ I am sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers, recommended for persons of credit, and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your grace, and your colleagues in commission; but I am also daily charged by counsellors and public persons, with neglect of my duty, in not staying your grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are greatly encouraged, and the Queen's safety endangered.—I have read over your twenty-four articles, found in a Romish stile, of great length and curiosity, to examine all manner of ministers in this time, without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mero*.—And I find them so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the inquisition of Spain, used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. I know your canonists can defend these with all their particles; but surely, under correction, this judicial and canonical sifting poor ministers, is not to edify or reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were notorious papists or heretics. I write with the testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace and unity of the church. I favour no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much favouring of the Romish inquisition; and is a device rather to seek for offenders, than to reform any.—It is not charitable to send poor ministers to your common register, to answer upon so many articles at one instant, without a copy of the articles or their answers.—I pray your grace bear with this one (perchance) fault, that I have willed the ministers not to answer these articles, except their consciences may suffer them.”

July 15, 1584.

W. Cecil.

This excellent letter was so far from softening the Archbishop, that two days after, he returned his lordship

a long answer, vindicating his interrogatories, from the practice of the Star-chamber, the Court of Marches, and other places. The treasurer found it was to no purpose to contend, and therefore replied in a short but smart letter, in which he tells him, "That after reading his grace's long answer, he was not satisfied in the point of seeking by examination to have ministers accuse themselves, and then punish them for their own confessions: that he would not call his proceedings captious, but they were scarcely charitable; his grace might therefore deal with his friend Mr. Brayne as he thought fit,—but when by examining him, it was meant only to sift him with twenty-four articles, he had cause to pity the poor man."

The Archbishop being desirous to give satisfaction to the treasurer, sent him two papers of reasons, one to justify the articles, and the other the manner of proceeding *ex mero officio*. In the latter his lordship gives the following reasons among others, for proceeding *ex mero officio*. If we proceed only by presentment and witnesses, then papists, brownists, and family men would expect the like measure. •It is hard to get witnesses against the puritans, because most of the parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them, nor appear against them. 3. There is great trouble and charge in examining witnesses, and sending for them from distant parts. 4. If Archbishops and Bishops should be driven to use proofs by witnesses only, the execution of the law would be partial, their charges in procuring and producing witnesses would be intolerable; and they should not be able to make quick dispatch enough with the secretaries. These were the arguments of a protestant Archbishop! I do not wonder that they gave no satisfaction to the wise treasurer; for surely, all who have any regard for the laws of their country, or the civil and religious rights of mankind, must be ashamed of them.

The treasurer having given up the Archbishop, the lords of the council, took the cause in hand, and wrote to his grace and the Bishop of London, in favour of the deprived ministers. In their letter they tell their lordships, "That they had heard of sundry complaints out of divers counties of proceedings against a great number of ecclesi-

astical persons, some parsons, some vicars, some curates, but all preachers; some deprived, and some suspended by their lordships' officers, chancellors, &c. but that they had taken no notice of these things, hoping their lordships would have staid their hasty proceedings, especially against such as did earnestly instruct the people against popery. But now of late, hearing of great numbers of zealous and learned preachers suspended from their cures in the county of Essex, and that there is no preaching, prayers, or sacraments in most of the vacant places: that in some few of them, persons neither of learning nor good name are appointed; and that in other places of the country, great numbers of persons that occupy cures, are notoriously unlit; most for lack of learning; many chargeable with great and enormous faults, as drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, hunting of alehouses, &c. against whom they, the council, heard of no proceedings, but that they were quietly suffered."—To fix this charge home on the Bishops, they sent with their letter a catalogue of names; one column of learned ministers deprived; a second of unlearned and vicious persons continued; a matter very lamentable, say they, for this time! and a third of pluralists and non-residents; "against these latter we the council have heard of no inquisition; but of great diligence, and extreme usage against those that were known to be diligent preachers: we therefore pray your lordships, to have some charitable consideration of their causes, that people may not be deprived of their diligent learned, and zealous pastors, for a few points ceremonial, which entangled their consciences." But this excellent remonstrance had no manner of influence upon our Archbishop. All that the puritans could obtain, was a kind of conference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers on the other, in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The conference was at Lambeth, concerning things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Sparke requested they might open the conference by prayer, when, framing himself to begin to pray, the Archbishop interrupted him saying, he should make no prayers

there, nor turn that place into a conventicle. Mr. Travers joined with Dr. Sparke, and desired that it might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any further; but the Archbishop not yielding thereunto, terming it a conventicle if any such prayer should be offered to be made; Lord Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham desired Dr. Sparke to content himself, seeing they doubted not, but that he had prayed already before his coming thither. Dr. Spark therefore omitting to use such prayer as he had proposed, made a short address to God in very few words, though the Archbishop continued to interrupt him all the while.

● The conference continued two days, at the close of which neither party being satisfied, the noblemen requested some favour for the ministers. Mr. Strype says the ministers were convinced and confirmed; but it is evident he knew not the disputants, nor had seen the debate. Travers was a non-conformist to his death, and Sparke appeared at their head at the Hampton Court conference, the beginning of the next reign. Nor was the Archbishop softened, but rather confirmed in his former resolution.

Aylmer, Bishop of London, came not behind his metropolitan in acts of severity. Strype says, he was the chief mover in the ecclesiastical commission, and had as high a spirit as the greatest lord in the land. During Grindal's disgrace, he harrassed the London clergy with new interrogatories and articles, three or four times a year. He advised the heads of the University of Cambridge (with whom he had nothing to do) to call in all their licences, and expel every man who would not wear the apparel, saying, that the "folly that his bound up in the heart of a child, is to be expelled with the rod of discipline." In his visitation this summer, he suspended about thirty-eight clergymen in Essex, among whom was Mr. Carew, of Hatfield; Mr. Knight, of Hampstead; and Mr. Gifford, of Malden.

Mr. Carew was a zealous promoter of the welfare of souls, and mourned over the want of a learned and preaching ministry. He was ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, and licensed by Archbishop Grindal and the Bishop of London himself, who commended his preaching; but

being too forward in acquainting his diocesan by letter, that in Essex, within the compass of sixteen miles, there were twenty-two non-residents, thirty insufficient ministers, and at the same time, nineteen preachers silenced for not subscribing; his lordship instead of being pleased with the information, sent for Carew before the commissioners, and charged him falsely without the least evidence, with setting up a presbytery, and with contemning ecclesiastical censures. It was alleged against him further, that he was chosen by the people; that he had defaced the book of Common Prayer, and had put several from the communion, when there was more need to allure them to it, &c. But to make short work, the Bishop tendered him the oath *ex officio*, which Carew refusing, he was committed to the Fleet, and another clergyman sent down to supply his place. Mr. Allen the patron, in whom the right of presentation was by inheritance, refusing to admit the Bishop's reader, was summoned before his lordship, and committed to prison; because (as the warrant expresses it,) he behaved seditiously in withstanding the authority of the Court: nay, the very sexton was reprimanded, and ordered not to meddle with the church any more; and because he asked his lordship simply, whether his meaning was, that he should not come to church any more; he committed him for ridiculous behaviour. Both Allen and Carew offered bail, which was refused unless they would admit his lordship's clergyman. After eight weeks imprisonment, they appealed to the privy council and were released; with which his lordship was so displeased, that he sent the council a very angry letter, calling the prisoners knaves, rebels, rascals, &c. and told their honours, that if such men were countenanced, he must yield up his authority: and the Bishop never left him, till he had hunted him out of the diocese.

Mr. Knight suffered six months imprisonment, for not wearing the apparel, and was fined one hundred marks. Mr. Negus was suspended on the same account: twenty-eight of his parishioners signed a letter, beseeching him to conform: but he protested he could not do it with a good conscience, and so was deprived. Mr. Gifford of Malden was a modest man, and irreproveable in his life,

and a great preacher. He had written learnedly against the Brownists, and by his diligence had wrought a wonderful reformation in the town; but being informed against for preaching up a limited obedience to the magistrate, he was suspended and imprisoned. After some time, he was brought to his trial, and his accuser failing in his evidence, he was released. But the Bishop of London setting his spies upon him, he was imprisoned again for non-conformity. Upon this he applied to the Lord treasurer, who applied to the Archbishop in his favour; but his grace having consulted his brother of London, told his lordship that he was a ring-leader of the non-conformists; that he himself had received complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the high commission. The parishioners of Malden presented a petition in his behalf; but to put an end to all further application, the Archbishop wrote to the treasurer,—“that he had rather die, or live in prison all the days of his life, than relax the rigour of his proceedings, by shewing favour to one, which might give occasion to others to expect the same, and undo all that he had been doing; he therefore beseeches his lordship not to animate this froward people by writing in their favour.”—Sir Francis Knollys the Queen’s kinsman, and treasurer of her chamber, seconded the treasurer. Some of the ministers were indicted at the assizes, for omitting the cross in baptism, and for not wearing the surplice once every month, and at every communion. Most of them were deprived, or to avoid it, forced to quit their livings and depart the country. Among these were the excellent Mr. Dyke, preacher first at Coggeshal in Essex, and afterwards at St. Albans’ in Hertfordshire, whose character was without blemish, and whose practical writings discover him to be a divine of considerable learning and piety; he was suspended, and at last deprived, because he continued a deacon, and did not enter into priest’s orders, which the Bishop supposed he accounted popish. He also refused to wear the surplice, and troubled his auditory with notions that thwarted the established religion. The parishioners being concerned for the loss of their minister, petitioned the Lord Burleigh to intercede for them.

Upon which Lord Burleigh wrote to the Bishop to restore him, promising that if he troubled the congregation with innovations any more, he would join with the Bishop against him; but his lordship excused himself, insinuating that he was charged with incontinence; this occasioned a further enquiry into Dyke's character, which was cleared up by the woman herself that accused him, who confessed her wicked contrivance, and openly asked him forgiveness. His lordship therefore insisted upon his being restored, forasmuch as the best clergyman in the world might be thus slandered. For this favour, says the treasurer, I shall thank your lordship, and will not solicit you any more, if hereafter he should give just cause of public offence, against the orders of the church established. But all that the treasurer could say was ineffectual; the Bishop of London was as inexorable as his grace of Canterbury.

The inhabitants of Essex had a vast esteem for their ministers; they could not part from them without tears: when they could not prevail with the Bishop, they applied to the parliament, and to the lords of the privy council. I have before me two or three petitions from the hundreds of Essex, and one from the county, signed by Francis Barrington, Esq. at the head of above two hundred gentlemen and tradesmen, house-keepers; complaining in the strongest terms, that the greatest number of their present ministers were unlearned, idle, or otherwise of scandalous lives; and that those few from whom they reaped knowledge and comfort, were molested, threatened, and put to silence for small matters in the common prayer, though they were men of godly lives and conversations.

The Bishop was equally severe in other parts of his diocese. Mr. Benison, a city divine of good learning, had been suspended and kept in prison several years, on pretence of some irregularity in his marriage: the Bishop charged him with being married in an afternoon, and in the presence of two or three hundred people by Mr. Field a non-conformist; for this he was committed to the Gate-house, where he had lain ever since 1579. At length he applied to the Queen and council, and in the state of his case, declares that he had invited only forty persons to the solemnity, and that of them there were only twenty

present; that he was married in a morning, and according to law; and when the Bishop sent for him, and charged him with sedition, he cleared himself to his satisfaction; but that after he was gone home, he gave private order under his own hand, for his being apprehended and sent to the Gate-house; that he was shut up there in a dungeon eight days, without knowing the cause of his imprisonment, though Dr. Hammond, and his faithful father Fox, who were both at the wedding, and saw the whole proceeding, went to the Bishop and assured him, that he was without wickedness or fault in that way he went about to charge him; his lordship however, would not release him, without such bonds for his good behaviour and appearance, as the prisoner could not procure.

The council were so moved with Benison's case, that they sent his lordship a letter in his favour urging the injustice of his sufferings, and praying for suitable relief. After some time the Bishop returned this answer;—I beseech your lordships to consider, that it is a rare example thus to press a Bishop for his zealous service to the Queen and the peace of the church, especially the man being found worthy to be committed for *non-conformity*, to say nothing of his contemptuous using of me; nevertheless, since it pleaseth your lordships to require some reasonable sum of money, I pray you to consider my poor estate and great charges otherwise, together with the great vaunt the man will make of his conquest over a Bishop. I hope therefore your lordships will be favourable to me, and refer it to myself, either to bestow upon him some small benefice, or otherwise to help him as opportunity offers. Or if this shall not satisfy the man, or content your lordships, leave him to the trial of the law, which I hope will not be so plain for him as he taketh it. Surely, my Lords, this and the like must greatly discourage me in this poor service of mine in the commission. What recompence the poor man had for long imprisonment I cannot find. But he was too wise to go to law with a Bishop of the court of high commission, who had little conscience or honour, and who notwithstanding his *poor estate and great charges*, left behind him above sixteen thousand pounds in money an immense sum for those times.

His lordship complained that he was hated like a dog, and commonly styled the oppressor of the children of God ; and that he was in danger of being mobed in his progress at Malden, and other places ; which is not strange, considering his mean appearance, being a very little man, and his high and insulting behaviour towards those who were examined by him, attended with ill language and a cruel spirit.

How different was this from the apostolic character of a Bishop ? Nay, how different was this Bishop from himself before he put on his lawn sleeves ! For in his book, entitled “ A harbour for faithful subjects,” published soon after the Queen’s accession, are these words.—“ Come off ye Bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands ; be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like and not prince-like ; let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands, to maintain these wars which you procured, and your mistress left her ; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm ; that every parish may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously, which will never be, unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one ; remember that Abimelech, when David in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such hospitality, that he had no bread in his house to give him, but the shew-bread. Where was all his superfluity, to keep your pretended hospitality ? For that is the cause you pretend why you must have thousands, as though you were commanded to keep hospitality rather with a thousand, than with a hundred. I would our countryman Wickliff’s book *de ecclesia* were in print, there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worth.”—When the Bishop was put in mind of this passage, he made no other reply than that of St. Paul, “ When I was a child, I spake as a child, I thought as a child !”

The case of those clergymen who were sent for up to Lambeth, from the remotest parts of the kingdom, was yet harder. Among these, the case of Mr. Paget, minister

of the parish church of Kilkhampton, in the diocese of Exon, was very moving; this divine, at the time of his presentation, acquainted his patron and ordinary, that he could not with quietness of conscience use some rites, ceremonies and orders appointed in the service-book; who promised, that if he would take the charge of the said cure, he should not be urged to the precise observation of them; upon which condition, he accepted the charge, and was admitted and regularly inducted. Mr. Paget was a lame man, but in the opinion of Mr. Stryce, a learned, peaceable, and quiet divine, who had complied with the customs and devotions of the church, and was indefatigable in his work, travelling up and down the neighbouring country, to preach the plain principles of religion; but Mr. Farmer, curate of Barnstable, envying his popularity, complained of him to the high commission. 1. Because he did not mention in his prayers the Queen's supremacy over both estates. 2. Because he had said that the sacraments were but dumb elements, and did not avail without the word preached. 3. Because he had preached that Christ did not descend into hell both body and soul. 4. That the Pope might set up the feast of jubilee, as well as the feast of easter and pentecost. 5. That holy days and fasting days were but the traditions of men, which we were not obliged to follow. 6. That he disallowed the use of organs in divine service. 7. That he called ministers that don't preach dumb dogs; and those that have two benefices, knaves. 8. That he preached that the late Queen Mary was a detestable woman and a wicked Jezebel.

But when Mr. Paget appeared before the commissioners, he was only articulated according to the common form, for not observing the book of Common Prayer, and the rites and ceremonies of the church. To which he made a suitable answer. But his answer not proving satisfactory, he was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach, after his suspension, was deprived: and the patron disposed of the living to another. Having a numerous family he set up a little school, but the arms of the commissioners reached him even there; for being required to take out a licence, they tendered him the

articles to subscribe, which he refusing, they shut up his school and sent him a begging. Thus this learned and useful divine, was silenced till the death of Whitgift, after which he was instituted to the living of St. Anne, within Aldersgate.

Mr. Walter Travers, sometime fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, came into trouble this year. He had been ordained at Antwerp, and being an admired preacher, a fine gentleman, and of great learning, became domestic chaplain to secretary Cecil, and lecturer at the temple. Dr. Alvey the master dying about this time, Travers was recommended to succeed him, by the doctor on his death-bed, and by the benchers of the house, in a petition to the treasurer on his behalf; but the Archbishop interposed, declaring peremptorily, that unless he would be re-ordained according to the usage of the church of England, and subscribe to the articles, he would not admit him. Upon which he was set aside, and Mr. Hooker preferred. He continued lecturer about two years longer, and was then deprived of his lectureship, and deposed from the ministry. The treasurer, and others of Travers' friends, advised him, for peace sake, to be re-ordained; but he replied in a letter to his lordship, that this would be to invalidate his former orders; and not only so, but as far as in him lay, to invalidate the ordinations of all foreign churches. He prayed his lordship to consider further, whether his subscribing the articles of religion, which only concern the profession of the true christian faith, and doctrine of the sacraments, as agreed upon in the convocation of 1562 which most willingly, and with all his heart, he assented to according to the statute, did not qualify him for a minister in the church, as much as if he had been ordained according to the English form. But the Archbishop was determined to have a strict eye upon the Inns of Court, and to bring them to the public standard; and the rather, inasmuch as some of them pretended to be exempted from his jurisdiction; for though in all other places, the sacrament was received in the posture of kneeling, the templers received it to this very time sitting. Travers would have introduced the posture of standing

at the side of the table, but the benchers insisted upon their privilege, and would receive it in no other posture than sitting. The Archbishop, in order to put an end to this practise, would admit none but an high conformist, that they might be obliged to receive it kneeling or not at all.

The harder the church pressed upon the puritans, the more were they dissaffected to the national establishment, and the more resolute in their attempts for a reformation of discipline. There was a book in high esteem among them at this time, entitled, "The holy discipline of the church described in the word of God," in Latin, by Mr. Travers, and printed at Geneva. It was translated into English this year, with a preface by Mr. Cartwright, and designed to be published for more general use; but it was seized at the press: the Archbishop advised that all the copies should be burnt, as factious and seditious, but one was found in Mr. Cartwright's study after his death, and re-printed under this new title, "A directory of government, anciently contended for, and as far as the time would suffer, practised by the first non-conformists, in the days of Queen Elizabeth," &c. It contains the substance of those alterations in discipline, which the puritans of these times contended for. Another treatise, dispersed privately about this time, against the discipline of the church, was entitled, "An abstract of certain acts of parliament, and of certain of her Majesty's injunctions and canons, &c." The author's design was to shew, that the Bishops in their ecclesiastical courts had exceeded their power, and broke through the laws and statutes of the realm; which was so notorious, that the answerer instead of confuting the abstracter, blames him for stabbing religion by the sides of the Bishops. But who was in fault? Shall the liberties and properties of mankind, be trampled upon by a despotic power, and the poor sufferers not allowed to hold up the laws and statutes of the land, to their oppressors, because of their great names or religious character?

The affairs of the church, were in this ferment, when the parliament met in which the puritans, despairing of all other relief, resolved to make their utmost efforts for a

further reformation of church discipline, and if the Queen would have taken the advice of her two houses, they had been made easy. Three petitions were offered to the house; one touching liberty for godly preachers; a second to exercise and continue their ministry; and a third for a speedy supply of able men for destitute places. Soon after this Dr. Turner stood up, and put the house in remembrance of a bill and book, which he had heretofore offered to the house; the bill was entitled, "An act concerning the subscription of ministers," and proposes, "That no other subscription but what is enjoined by the thirteenth of Elizabeth, be required of any minister or preacher in the church of England, &c. The book consisted of thirty-four articles of complaint, but by advice of the house, the substance of the petitions were reduced by the ministers into sixteen articles, which he desired might be imparted to the house of Lords, and they be requested to join with the Commons, in exhibiting them by way of humble suit to the Queen.

This petition was attended with a moving supplication to the Queen and parliament, in the name of thousands of the poor untaught people of England, in which they complain, that in many of their congregations, they had none to break the bread of life, or preach the word of God: that the Bishops in their ordinations, had no regard to such as were qualified to preach, provided they could only read, and conformed to the ceremonies: that they deprived such as were capable of preaching, on account of ceremonies which do not edify, but are rather unprofitable brethens to the church; and that they molest the people that go from their own parish churches to seek the bread of life, when they have no preaching at home. They complain, that there are thousands of parishes destitute of the necessary means of salvation, and therefore pray the Queen and parliament to provide a remedy.

In answer to the petition last mentioned, the Bishop of Winchester, in the name of his brethren, drew up a reply perfectly corresponding with the temper and character of the bench. The debates upon the last head of their

reply running very high, a bill was ordered to be brought in immediately against pluralities and non-residencies, and for appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. It was said in favour of the bill, that none-residences and pluralities were evil in their own nature; that they answered no valuable purpose, but hindered the industry of the clergy, and were a means to keep the country in ignorance, at a time when there were only three thousand preachers to supply nine thousand parishes. The Archbishop drew up his reasons against the bill, and prevailed with the convocation to present them, in an address to the Queen; wherein they style themselves her Majesty's poor distressed supplicants, now in danger, from the bill depending in the house of commons against pluralities and non-residencies; "which say they, impeacheth your Majesty's prerogative; lesseneth the revenues of the crown; overthrowes the study of divinity in both universities; will deprive men of the livings they lawfully possess; will beggar the clergy; will bring in a base and unlearned ministry; lessen the hospitality of cathedrals; be an encouragement to students to go over to foreign seminaries, where they may be better provided for; and in a word, will make way for anarchy and confusion."

And to give some satisfaction to the public, they presented six articles to the Queen, as the sum of all that needed amendment. The first was, that none should be admitted into holy orders under twenty-four years of age; that they should have presentation to a cure; that they should bring testimonials of their good life; and that the Bishop might refuse whom he thought fit, without the danger of a *quære impedit*. The second was, to restrain the commutation of penance except upon great consideration, of which the Bishop to be judge. The third was to restrain licences to marry without bands. The fourth to moderate some excesses about excommunication. The fifth for restraining pluralities of benefices. The sixth concerning fees to ecclesiastical officers and their servants. But even these articles lay by till the year 1597, when they were confirmed in convocation, and afterwards incorporated among the canons.

In the mean time, the bill against pluralities passed

the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop of Winchester made long speeches, shewing, that neither the cathedrals, nor professors in the universities, could subsist without them. To prove this, they produced a list of the small value of many ecclesiastical livings, according to the Queen's books. To which it was replied, that there were many suspended preachers would be glad of the smallest of those livings, if they might have them without molestation; however that it was more proper to go upon ways and means for the augmentation of smaller livings, than to suffer the poor people to perish for lack of knowledge, while the incumbents were indulged in idleness and sloth; but the weights of the bench of Bishops, with the court interest, threw out the bill.

This exasperated the commons to that degree, that after the holidays they resumed the debate of the bill of petitions, and ordered several other bills to be brought in, to clip the wings of the Bishops, and lessen the power of the spiritual courts. One was for swearing Bishops in the Courts of Chancery and King's-bench, that they should act nothing against the common law of the land. Another to reduce their fees. A third for liberty to marry at all times of the year. A fourth for the qualification of ministers. And a fifth for restoring of discipline. The act for qualifying ministers, annuls all popish ordinations; and disqualifies such as were not capable of preaching, as well as those who were convicted of profaneness, or any kind of immorality; but obliges the successor to allow the deprived minister a sufficient maintenance, at the discretion of the justices of the quarter sessions; and if the living be not sufficient, it is to be done by a parish rate. It insists upon a careful examination and trial of the qualification of candidates for the ministry by the Bishop, assisted by twelve of the laity; and makes the election, or consent of the people, necessary to his induction to the pastoral charge. The bill for discipline is for abolishing the canon law, and all the spiritual courts; and for bringing the probates of testaments, and all civil business into the courts of

Westminster-hall; it appoints a presbytery or eldership in each parish, which together with the minister, shall determine the spiritual business of the parish, with an appeal to higher judicatories in cases of complaint.

The bill for the qualification of ministers, passed the commons, which put the Archbishop into such a fright, that the very next day, he wrote a letter to the Queen, in which he advised her Majesty to make alteration by canon, and not by statute, that she might reserve the power in her own hands.

The Queen was so pleased with the Archbishop's advice that she immediately sent a message to the commons by the Lord treasurer, to reprimand them for encroaching upon her supremacy, and for attempting what she had forbidden, and to command the Speaker to see that no bills touching reformation should be exhibited; and if any such were exhibited, she commands him upon his allegiance not to read them. The commons now saw their mistake, in vesting the whole power of reforming the policy of the church, in the single person of the Queen, who knew how to act the sovereign, and display her prerogative as well as her father. Had it been reserved to the whole legislature, Queen, Lords and Commons, with advice of the representative body of the clergy, it had been more equitable; but now if the whole nation were dissatisfied, not an insignificant rite or ceremony must be changed, or a bill brought into either house of parliament, without an infringement of the prerogative; no lay-person in the kingdom must meddle with religion except the Queen; the hands of lords and commons are tied up, her Majesty is absolute in the affairs of the church, and no motion for reformation must arise from any but herself.

The Archbishop's reasons against the bill for marrying at any time of the year, are very extraordinary; it is contrary (says his grace) to the old canons; and it tendeth to the slander of the church, **AS HAVING HITHERTO MAINTAINED AN ERROR.** Is it then a slander to the church of England, or to any protestant church, to say she is fallible and may have maintained an error? Have not fathers and councils erred? Nay, in the very church of Rome,

which alone lays claim to INFALLIBILITY, have we not read of one Pope and council reversing the decrees of another? The twenty-first article of the church of England says, that general councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God. And if a general council may err, even in things of importance to salvation, surely it can be no slander to say a convocation, a parliament, or a single person may mistake, in commanding to abstain from meats, and forbidding to marry at certain times of the year.

While the puritans were attending the parliament, they did not neglect the convocation: a petition was presented to them in the name of the ministers, who refused to subscribe the Archbishop's three articles, wherein they desire to be satisfied in their scruples, which the law admits, but had not hitherto been attempted. The convocation rejecting their petition, the ministers printed their apology to the church, and humble suit to the high court of parliament, in which they mention several things in the public service, as repugnant to the word of God; and conclude with an earnest supplication to be continued in their callings, considering their being set apart to the ministry, and the obligations they were under to God and their people; they protest they will do any thing they can without sin, and the rather, because they are apprehensive, that the shepherds being stricken, their flocks will be scattered.

The puritans last resort was to the Archbishop, who had a prevailing interest in the Queen; a paper was therefore published, entitled, "Means how to settle a godly and charitable quietness in the church." But the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the least latitude from the national establishment. He framed an answer to the proposals, in which he insists upon a full conformity, telling the petitioners, that it was none of his business to alter the ecclesiastical laws, or dispense with them; which was all they were to expect from him. What could wise and good men do more in a peaceable way, for the liberty of their consciences, or a further reformation in the church? They petitioned the Queen, applied to both houses of parliament, and

addressed the convocation and Bishops; they moved no seditions or riots, but fasted and prayed for the Queen and church, as long as they were allowed; and when they could serve them no longer, they patiently submitted to suspensions and deprivations, fines and imprisonments, till it should please God, of his infinite mercy, to open a door for their further usefulness.

The papists made their advantages of these divisions; a plot was discovered this very year against the Queen's life, for which Lord Paget and others fled their country; and one Parry was executed, who was to have killed her Majesty, as she was riding abroad, to which (it is said) the Pope encouraged him, by granting him his blessing, and a plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins; assuring him that besides the merit of the action in heaven, his holiness would make himself his debtor in the best manner he could, and therefore exhorted him to put his most holy and honourable purposes in execution. Mary Queen of Scots was big with the expectation of the crown of England at this time, from the preparations of foreign popish princes, were determined to make the strongest efforts to set her upon the throne, and to restore the catholic religion in England; but they could not get ready, before her head was laid upon the block.

The parliament which met again in November, being sensible of the importance of the Queen's life, entered into a voluntary association to revenge her death, if that should happen through any violence. They also made a severe statute against jesuits and seminary priests, or others who engaged in plots, by virtue of the bull of excommunication of Pope p'ious the fifth, and against any subject of England, that should go abroad for education in any of the popish seminaries. Yet none of these things could move the Queen or Bishops, to take any steps towards uniting protestants among themselves. But to put an effectual stop to the pens of the church's adversaries his grace applied to the Queen for a further restraint of the press, which he obtained, and published by authority of the Star-chamber. However, notwithstanding this edict, the Archbishop was far from enjoying a peaceable triumph, the puritans finding ways and means from abroad, to propagate their writings, and expose the severity of their adversaries.

Some faint attempts were made this summer for reviving the exercises called prophesyings, in the diocese of Chester, where the clergy were very ignorant: Bishop Chadderton drew up proper regulations, in imitation of those already mentioned; but the design proved abortive. The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, also published some articles for his visitation, which favoured of puritanism, as against non-residents, for making a more strict enquiry into the qualifications of ministers, and for restraining unworthy communicants. He also erected a kind of judicatory, consisting of four learned divines with himself, to examine such as should be presented for ordination. When the Archbishop had read them over, he called them the well-spring of a pernicious platform, and represented them to the Queen, as contrary to law, and to the settled state of the church; the Bishop wrote a defence of his articles to the Archbishop, shewing their consistency with law, and the great advantage which might arise from them; but Whitgift would hear of nothing that looked like a puritanical reformation.

The Lord's day was now much profaned, by the encouraging of plays and sports of the evening, and sometimes in the afternoon. Mr. Smith in his sermon before the University of Cambridge, the first Sunday in Lent, maintained the unlawfulness of these plays; for which he was summoned before the vice-chancellor, and upon examination offered to prove, that the christian sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all worldly business, and spent in the works of piety and charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the strictness of the Jewish precepts. The parliament had taken this matter into consideration, and passed a bill for the better and more reverent observation of the sabbath, which the speaker recommended to the Queen in an elegant speech, but her Majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of not suffering the parliament to meddle with matters of religion, which was her prerogative. However the thing appeared so reasonable, that without the sanction of a law, the religious observation of the sabbath grew into esteem with all sober persons, and after a few years became the distinguishing mark of a puritan.

This summer Mr. Cartwright returned from abroad, having spent five years in preaching to the English congregation at Antwerp; he had been seized with an ague, which ended in an hectic, for which the physicians advised him to his native air. Upon this he wrote to the Earl of Leicester and the Lord treasurer, for leave to come home; these noblemen made an honourable mention of him in parliament, but he could not obtain their mediation with the Queen for his pardon, so that as soon as it was known he was landed, though in a weak and languishing condition, he was apprehended and thrown into prison; when he appeared before the Archbishop, he behaved with that modesty and respect, as softened the heart of his great adversary, who upon promise of his peaceable and quiet behaviour, suffered him to go at large; but all their interest could not procure him a licence to preach. However the Earl made him governor of an hospital in Warwick, where he was connived at for a time, and preached with a licence.

Messrs. Fenner and Wood, two other suspended ministers, were released after twelve months imprisonment, upon a general subscription to the articles, as far as the law required, and a promise to use the book of Common Prayer, and no other; but such was the clamour on all hands, by reason of the three articles to be subscribed by all who had livings already, as well as those that should hereafter take orders, that secretary Walsingham went over to Lambeth, and told his grace, that it would stop in a great measure the complaints which were brought to court, if he would require subscription only of such, as were hereafter to enter into holy orders, and suffer those already in places, to proceed in the discharge of their duty, upon condition of their giving bond to read the Common Prayer, according to the usages and laws prescribing the same; which the Archbishop promised to comply with.

But the non-subscribing divines who were unpreferred, might not so much as teach school for a livelihood, for the Archbishop would grant no licence without subscribing; and from this time his licences to teach grammar, and even reading and writing, were granted only from year to year; the school-masters were to be full conformists;

they were limited to a particular diocese, and were not authorized to teach elsewhere; they were to instruct their scholars in nothing but what was agreeable to the laws and statutes of the realm; and all this only during the Bishop's pleasure. Such was the rigour of the times!

Mr. Travers had been lecturer at the Temple with Mr. Hooker the new master about two years, but with very little harmony or agreement, one being a strict Calvinist, the other a person of larger principles; the sermon in the morning was very often confuted in the afternoon, and vindicated again the next Lord's day. The writer of Hooker's life reports, that the morning sermon spoke the language of Canterbury, the afternoon that of Geneva. Hooker complaining of this usage, the Archbishop took the opportunity to suspend Mr. Travers at once, without any warning; for as he was going up into the pulpit to preach on the Lord's day afternoon, the officer served him with a prohibition upon the pulpit stairs; upon which, instead of a sermon, he acquainted the congregation with his suspension, and dismissed them. The reasons given for it were, 1. That he was not ordained according to the rites of the Church of England. 2. That he had broken the orders of the 7th of the Queen, that disputes should not be brought into the pulpit.

Mr. Travers in his own vindication drew up a petition, or supplication to the council, in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard; and then goes on to answer the objections alleged against him in the prohibition. To this Mr. Hooker wrote an answer, which he concludes with his unfeigned desires that all animosities ought to be buried in oblivion; and that there may be no strife among them but this, who shall pursue peace, unity, and piety, with the greatest vigour and diligence.

But the council interfered not in the affair, Travers was left to the mercy of the Archbishop, who could never be prevailed with to take off his suspension, or license him to preach in any part of England: upon which he accepted an invitation into Ireland, and became provost of Trinity college in the University of Dublin; here he was tutor to the famous Dr. Usher, afterwards Archbishop

of Armagh, who always had him in high esteem; but being driven from thence by the wars, he returned after some years into England, and spent the remainder of his days in silence, obscurity, and great poverty; he was a learned man, a polite preacher, an admirable orator, and one of the worthiest divines of his age. But all these qualifications put together, could not atone for the single crime of his non-conformity.

Mr. Cartwright being forbid preaching, had been encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham, to answer the Rhemist translation of the New Testament, published with annotations in favour of popery; divers doctors and heads of houses of the University of Cambridge, solicited him to the same work, as appears by their epistle prefixed to the book; the like encouragement he received from sundry ministers in London and Suffolk, none being thought so equal to the task as himself; and because Cartwright was poor, the secretary of state sent him one hundred pounds with assurance of such further assistance as should be necessary; Cartwright accordingly applied himself to the work, but the Archbishop by his sovereign authority, forbid him to proceed, being afraid that his writings would do the hierarchy more damage, than they would do service to the protestant cause: the book therefore was left unfinished, and not published till the year 1618, to the great regret of the learned world, and reproach of the Archbishop.

The sufferings of Mr. Gardiner, the deprived minister of Malden in Essex, would have moved compassion in any except the Bishop of London. I will represent them in his own words, as they were sent to him in form of a supplication.

“ My duty in humble-wise remember, my lord,

“ I am east into prison by your lordship, for a matter which about seven years past was slanderously raised up against me; I was by course of law cleared. I have been extremely sick in prison; I thank God I am amended, but yet so that the physicians say my infection from the prison will be very dangerous. I have a poor wife and five children which are in a lamentable case: I had six chil-

dren at the beginning of my imprisonment; but by reason of my sickness in prison, my wife being constrained to attend upon me, one of my children for want of somebody to oversee them, was drowned in a tub of wort. If your lordship have no compassion on me, yet take pity upon the widow and fatherless (for in that state are now my wife and poor infants) whose tears are before the Lord. I crave no more but this, to be bailed; and if I am found guilty of any breach of law, let me have extremity without any favour.

“ Your lordship’s to command in Christ,

“ JOHN GARDINER,”

Mr. Giles Wigginton, minister of Sedburgh, having been deprived at Lambeth for non-conformity, and another inducted into his living, went home, and being denied entrance in the church, preached a kind of farewell sermon to his parishioners in the church-yard, and administered the sacrament, having no peace in his mind, till he had done it, though his brethren in the ministry would have dissuaded him; after this he retired with his wife and children, to Borough-bridge, but was arrested in his journey, by a pursuivant from the Archbishop of York, and sent to Lancaster gaol, fifty miles distant from the place where he was arrested, in a hard and cold winter; there he was shut up among felons, and condemned prisoners, and worse used than they, or than the rescusant papists. From hence he sent up his case to Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the privy council, but with little success; for he was a warm non-conformist, and a bold preacher against the lordly proceedings of the Bishops, for which, and for refusing the oath *ex officio*, he suffered a long imprisonment. He was afterwards apprehended again upon suspicion of his being one of the authors of Martin Mar Prelate, which he denied, but confessing he did not dislike the book, he was therefore confined in the Compter and the Gate-house, till, I believe, he consented to leave the realm.

In the parliament that met this year, the puritan ministers made another effort for parliamentary relief, for

which purpose they presented an humble supplication to the house of commons. To this supplication was annexed a survey of some shires and counties, by which the miserable state of the church for want of an able and sufficient ministry appears; it was taken in the year 1585 and 1586, by some persons employed for that purpose against the meeting of the parliament, but it is too large to be inserted.

This survey takes notice, that after twenty-eight years establishment of the Church of England, there were only two thousand preachers to serve near ten thousand parish churches, so that there were almost eight thousand parishes without ministers. To this account agrees that of Mr. Fenner who lived in these times, and says, that a third part of the ministers of England, were covered with a cloud of suspensions; that if persons would hear a sermon, they must go in some places, five, seven, twelve, yea, in some counties twenty miles, and at the same time be fined twelve pence a Sabbath for being absent from their own parish church, though it be proved they were hearing a sermon elsewhere, because they had none at home. Nor is it all strange it should be thus in the country, when the Bishop of London, enjoined his clergy in his visitation this very year, 1. That every parson should have a Bible in Latin and English. 2. That they should have Bullinger's Decads. 3. That they should have a paper book, and write in it the quantity of a sermon every week, 4. That such as could not preach themselves, should be taxed at four purchased sermons a year. What a miserable state of things was this! when many hundreds of pious and conscientious preachers were excluded the church, and starving with their families for want of employment.

With the supplication and survey above-mentioned, a bill was offered to the house of commons for a further reformation; wherein after a recital of their grievances, they pray that the book hereunto annexed, entitled, "A book of the form of Common Prayer, &c. and every thing therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized and put in use and practice, throughout all her Majesty's dominions, any former law, custom, or statute to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding." The book

contained prayers before and after sermon, but left a liberty for variation if it was thought proper. The minister was to pray and give thanks in the words there prescribed, or such like. In the creed it leaves the article of Christ's descent into hell more at large. It omits three of the thirty-nine articles (*viz.*) the 34th, 35th, and 36th. It takes the jurisdiction of the church out of the hands of the spiritual courts, and places it in an assembly of ministers and elders in every shire, who shall have power to examine, approve, and present ministers, to the several parishes for their election, and even to depose them with the consent of the Bishop, upon their misbehaviour.

Some bold speeches were made in parliament against the arbitrary proceedings of the Bishops, by Mr. Wentworth and others, for which those members were sent to the Tower; at which the house was so intimidated, that they would not suffer the bill to be read. Besides the Queen sent both for the bill and petition out of the house, and ordered the speaker to acquaint them, "That she was already settled in her religion, and would not begin again; that changes in religion were dangerous; that it was not reasonable for them to call in question the established religion, while others were endeavouring to overthrow it; that she had considered the objections, and looked upon them as frivolous; and that the platform itself was most prejudicial to her crown, and to the peace of her government."—Nay, so incensed was the Queen with these attempts of the puritans, that in drawing up a general pardon to be passed in parliament, she ordered an exception to be made of such as committed any offence against the act of uniformity, or were publishers of seditious books, or pamphlets.

The convocation, contrary to all custom and usage, continued sitting after the parliament, and gave the Queen a subsidy or benevolence. This precedent Archbishop Laud made use of in the year 1640, to prove the lawfulness of a convocation sitting without a parliament. All they did further, was to address the Queen with an offer to maintain by disputation, that the platform of the puritans was absurd in divinity, and dangerous to the state; which the non-conformists would willingly have debated, but, the others knew, the Queen and council would not admit it.

The press was in the hands of the Archbishop, who took all possible care to stifle the writings of the puritans, while he gave licence to Ascanio an Italian merchant, and bookseller in London, to import what popish books he thought fit, upon this very odd pretence, that the adversaries arguments being better known by learned men, might be more easily confuted. But was it not a shorter way to confute them in the high commission? Or might not the same reason have served for licensing the books of the puritans? But his grace seems to have been in no fear of popery, though this very year another assassination plot was discovered, for which Ballard a priest, and about twelve or fourteen more, were executed. Remarkable are the words of this Ballard, who declared upon examination of Sir Francis Knollys, treasurer of the Queen's household, and a privy counsellor, "That he would desire no better books to prove his doctrine of popery, than the Archbishop's writings against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth in her Majesty's name. That if any men among the protestants lived virtuously, they were the puritans, who renounced their ceremonies, and would not be corrupted with pluralities. That unlearned and reading ministers were rather a furtherance than a hinderance to the catholic cause. That though the Bishops owned her Majesty to be supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their courts in her Majesty's name; and that though the names and authority of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. were in use in the primitive church, they forgot that they were then lords or magistrates of order only, made by the prince, and not lords of absolute power, ruling without appeal.—This was written by Mr. Treasurer himself, upon which Sir Francis advised in council, that special care should be taken of popish recusants; and that the absolute authority of private Bishops, without appeal should be restrained; that they might not condemn zealous preachers against the Pope's supremacy, for refusing to subscribe unlawful articles; nor without the assembly of a synodical council of preachers, forasmuch as the absolute authority of the Bishops, and their ambition and covetousness, had a tendency to lead people back to popery. But how much truth soever there was in

these observations, the Queen and Archbishop were not to be convinced.

The puritans being wearied out with repeated applications to their superiors for relief, began to despair, and in one of their assemblies came to this conclusion; that since the magistrate could not be induced to reform the discipline of the church, by so many supplications that therefore after so many years waiting it was lawful to act without and introduce a reformation in the best manner they could. And their book entitled, "The holy discipline of the church, described in the word of God," being revised, was subscribed by above five hundred names, all beneficed in the church of England, useful preachers, of unspotted lives and characters, and many of them of the university of Cambridge, where they had a strong and powerful interest.

Besides the puritans already mentioned as suffering this year, the learned Dr. Walward, divinity professor at Oxford, was enjoined a public recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for teaching, that the order of the Jewish synagogue and eldership, was adopted by Christ and his apostles into the Christian church, and designed as a perpetual model of church government. He was also bound in a recognizance of 100l. for his good behaviour. Mr. Harsnet of Pembroke-Hall, was imprisoned at the same time, for not wearing the surplice. Mr. Edward Gillibrand, fellow of Magdalen College Cambridge was forbid preaching, and bound in a recognizance of 100l. to revoke his errors in such words as the commissioners should appoint. His crime was speaking against the hierarchy, and against the swelling titles of Archbishops and Bishops; for which Whitgift told him, he deserved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the university. Mr. Farrar, minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with *rebellion* against the ecclesiastical laws, and suspended for not wearing the habits. Bishop Aylmer told him, that except he and his companions would be conformable, in good faith he and his brethren the Bishops, would in one quarter of a year, turn them all out of the church.—Mr. Udal of Kingston upon Thames, was

suspended and imprisoned, for keeping a private fast in his parish:—and four other ministers, were imprisoned, and obliged to give bond for their good behaviour.

In the month of May, Mr. Settle was summoned before the Archbishop, and charged with denying the article, of the descent of our Saviour's soul into hell, or the place of the damned. Mr. Settle confessed it was his opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind; which put the Archbishop into such a passion, that he called him ass, dolt, fool. Mr. Settle said, he ought not to rail at him being a minister of the gospel. What, said the Archbishop, dost thou think much to be called ass and dolt? I have called many of thy betters so. True, said Mr Settle; but the question is, how lawfully have you done so? Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt preach no more in my diocese. Mr. Settle answered, I am called to preach the gospel, and I will not cease to do it. The Archbishop replied with a stern countenance, neither you, nor any one in England, shall preach without my leave. He then charged Mr. Settle with not observing the order of the service-book; with not using the cross in baptism; with disallowing the baptism of midwives; and not using the words in marriage, with this ring I thee wed. The Dean of Winchester, asked him, if he had subscribed. Settle answered, yes, as far as the law required; that is, to the doctrine of faith and the sacraments, but as touching other rites and ceremonies, he neither could nor would. Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt be subject to the ecclesiastical authority. Mr. Settle replied, I thank God you can use no violence but upon my poor body. So his grace committed him to the Gate-house, there to be kept close prisoner. Sandys, Archbishop of York, was no less active in his province. He was a severe governor, hasty and passionate; but it was said in excuse for him and some others, that the civilians by their emissaries and spies turned informers, and then pushed the Bishops forward, to bring business into the spiritual courts.

About this time Dr. Bridges, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, wrote against the puritans, and maintained that *THEY* were not grievously afflicted unless it were caused by their own

deserts. The docter was answered by Mr. Fenner. But after all it may be questioned, whether the history of former ages can furnish an example of so many severities against divines of one and the same faith, for a few trifling ceremonies; or of a more peaceable and christian behaviour under sufferings. Camden indeed complains of their dispersing pamphlets against the church and prelates, in a time of common danger, when the nation was in arms against the Spanish invasion; but these pamphlets were only to shew, that the danger of the return of popery (which all men were now apprehensive of) arose from stopping the mouths of those ministers, who were most zealous against it. It had been easy at this time to have distressed the government and the hierarchy, for the cry of the people was against the Bishops; but the puritans here and in Scotland were more afraid of the return of popery than their adversaries: those in Scotland entered into an association, to assemble in arms at what time and place their King should require, to assist the Queen of England, against the Spaniards; and their brethren in London took the opportunity to petition the Queen for the liberty of their preachers, that the people might be better instructed in the duties of obedience to their civil governors, and not be left a prey to priests and jesuits, who were no better than traitors to her Majesty and the kingdom. But the Queen gave them no answer; the whole reformation must be hazarded rather than the puritans relieved. After this, they applied to the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen, beseeching them to address the Queen, to make some better provision for the city; and to enforce their petition, they laid before them a new survey of the ministry of London, taken this very year, with the names of every parish priest and curate set down against his living and curacy. With the survey they offered divers reasons to prevail with the court to appear for them; but the aldermen were afraid to interpose. Such was the scarcity of preachers, and the thirst of the people after knowledge, that the suspended ministers of Essex, petitioned the parliament for some remedy,—“Such say they is the cry of the people to us day and

night for the bread of life, that our bowels yearn within us; and remembering the solemn denunciation of the apostle, "Woe be to us if we preach not the gospel," we begin to think it our duty to preach to our people as we have opportunity, notwithstanding our suspension, and to commit our lives and whole estates to almighty God, as to a faithful creator; and under God to the gracious clemency of the Queen, and of this honourable house."—Many suspended preachers came out of the countries and took shelter in the city. But to prevent as much as possible their getting into any of the pulpits of London, all the ministers and church-wardens of the city were charged by the high commissioners, "Not to suffer any to preach in their churches, or to read any lectures, they not being in their own cures, but only such whose licences they shall first have seen and read, and whom they shall find to be licenced thereto, either by the Queen, or by one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

Under all these discouragements the puritans kept close together, hoping one time or other that providence would appear for their relief. They maintained their classes and associations, wherein they agreed upon certain general rules for their behaviour. In another provincial synod it was agreed, that the oppressions offered to others, and especially to the ministers, by the Bishops and their officials in their spiritual courts, should be collected and registered. If this had been preserved entire, more of the sufferings of these great and good men would have appeared, and many works of darkness, oppression and cruelty, would have been brought to light, which now must be concealed till the day of judgment. The danger with which the nation was threatened from a foreign invasion, gave a little check to the zeal of the Bishops against the puritans for the present; however, this year Mr. Cawdery, minister of South Luffingham, was suspended, imprisoned, and deprived by the Bishop of London; he had a wife and seven children, which were cast upon providence; but this divine gave his lordship some farther trouble, as will be seen hereafter. Mr. Wilson, who had been suspended some time before;

moved for a release in the Bishop's court ; but because he refused to subscribe, his suspension was continued, and himself treated by the civilians with great inhumanity. Mr. Hildersham, whom Mr. Fuller represents as a heavenly divine, being at this time fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was suspended by the commissioners, for preaching occasionally before he had taken orders, and obliged to sign his recantation. This recantation was by the Archbishop's appointment, to be uttered in Trinity Hall chapel, before Easter. In the mean while he was suspended from the profits of his fellowship, and stood bound to appear before the commissioners the first court-day of Easter term, if he did not before that time recant. Whether Mr. Hildersham recanted I am not certain, but he left the university and settled at *Ashby de la Zouch*, where he continued a deep sufferer for non-conformity forty-three years, having been suspended and put to silence by the high commission no less than four times, and continued under that hardship almost twenty years.

This year put an end to the life of the famous martyrologist JOHN FOX, a person of indefatigable labour and industry, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's days : he spent all his time abroad in compiling the acts and monuments of the church of England, which were published first in Latin, and afterwards when he returned to his native country, in English, with enlargements ; vast was the pains he took in searching records, and collecting materials for his work ; and such was its esteem, that it was ordered to be set up in all the parish churches in England. Mr. Fox was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, 1517. educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon. He was afterwards tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's children, who in the days of Queen Mary conveyed him privately out of the kingdom. He was a most learned, pious, and judicious divine, of a catholic spirit and against all methods of severity in religion. But he was shamefully neglected for some years because he was a non-conformist, and refused to subscribe the canons and ceremonies ; nor did he get any higher preferment in the church than a prebend of Salisbury, though the Queen used to call him

father, and professed a high veneration for him. He died in London in the seventieth year of his age, and lies buried in Cripplegate church, where his monument is still to be seen against the south wall of the chancel, with a flat marble stone over his remains.

It has been observed, that our first reformers admitted only two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz. bishops and deacons, a presbyter and bishop according to them being two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft the Archbishop's chaplain, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, maintained, that the Bishop's of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*, and directly from God. He affirmed this to be God's own appointment, though not by express words, yet by necessary consequence; and that the denial of it was heresy. The doctor confessed, that Acrius had maintained, there was no difference between a priest and a bishop; but that Epiphanius had pronounced his assertion full of folly; and that it had been condemned as heresy by the general council of the church; that Martin and his companions had maintained the same opinion: but that St. Hierom and Calvin had confessed, that Bishops have had superiority over presbyters, ever since the times of St. Mark the evangelist. This was new and strange doctrine to the churchmen of these times. It had been always said, that the superiority of the order of Bishops above presbyters, had been a politic human appointment, for the more orderly government of the church, begun about the third or fourth century; but Bancroft was one of the first, who by the Archbishop's directions, advanced it into a DIVINE RIGHT. His sermon gave offence to many of the clergy and to all the friends of the puritans about the court, who would have brought the preacher into a *premunire*, for saying, that any subject of this realm hath superiority over the persons of the clergy, otherwise than from and by her Majesty's authority. But the doctor retorted this argument upon the disciplinarians, and added, that it was no better than a sophism, because the prince's authority may, and very often does confirm and corroborate that which is primarily from the laws of God. Sir Francis Knollys, who had this affair at

heart, told the Archbishop that Bancroft's assertion was contrary to the command of Christ, who condemned all superiority among the apostles. Whitgift said, the doctor's sermon had done much good, though he himself rather wished than believed it to be true; it was new doctrine at this time. Most of the clergy who approved the superiority of the episcopal order, were against the divine right; but the Bishop's in the next age revived the debate, and carried their pretensions so high, as to subvert the very foundations upon which they built.

The Queen having suffered Mary Queen of Scots to be beheaded, all the Roman Catholic princes were alarmed, and threatened revenge; among others, the Spaniards hastened their Invincible Armada, to reduce England to the catholic faith, which had been three years preparing at a prodigious expence: the fleet was well manned, and furnished with strange instruments of torture for the English heretics; they came through the channel like so many floating castles, being to take in a land army from the Low Countries; but partly by storms, and partly by the valour and wise conduct of the Queen's admirals and sea captains, the whole fleet was burnt and destroyed, so that not a Spaniard set foot upon English ground; nor was there a ship left entire to carry the news back to Spain. The Queen ordered the coasts to be well guarded, and raised a land army, which she animated by appearing at the head of them. A terror was spread through the whole nation, by reports of the engines of cruelty that were aboard the fleet; their barbarous usage of the poor protestants in the Low Countries under the Duke D'Alva was remembered, as well as their bloody massacres of the poor Indians in America: but the storm blowing over by the blessing of God upon the Queen's arms, the nation was soon restored to its former tranquility.

The following winter the Queen summoned a parliament, in order to defray the extraordinary expenses of the year, and make some new laws against the papists. The puritans having expressed their zeal for the Queen and the protestant religion, by listing in her army and navy, thought it advisable once more to address the houses for some favour in point of subscription. Upon the

delivery of the petition, one of the members stood up and moved, that an enquiry might be made, how far the Bishops had exceeded the laws in the prosecution of her Majesty's protestant subjects. Another moved, for reviving the bill against pluralities and non-residents, which was brought in, and having passed the commons was sent up to the lords. This alarmed the convocation, who addressed the Queen to protect the church; and flattered her with the title of a goddess. Hereupon the Queen forbid the house of Lords to proceed, and sent for those members of the house of commons into custody who had dared to break through her orders, of not meddling with affairs of religion without her special allowance; which put an end to all expectations of relief for the present.

This year died the learned Mr. Thomas Sampson; he was born about the year 1517, and educated at Oxford; he afterwards studied at the Temple, and was a means of converting the famous martyr John Bradford to the protestant religion; he took orders from Archbishops Cranmer and Ridley, who dispensed with the habits at his request, and became rector of All-hallows Bread-street: he was a famous preacher in the reign of King Edward; but upon the accession of Mary he fled to Strasburgh, and was highly esteemed by the learned Tremelius. When Elizabeth came to the crown, she offered him the Bishopric of Norwich, which he refused for no other reason, but because he could not conform to the habits and ceremonies. In 1561, he was installed Dean of Christ church, Oxon: but soon after was deprived by sentence of Archbishop Parker for non-conformity. He afterwards contented himself with the mastership of an hospital in Leicester, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. He was seized with the dead palsy on one side before he died; but continued preaching and writing to the last, and was in high esteem over all England for his learning, piety, and zeal for the protestant religion. He died at his hospital with great tranquility and comfort in his non-conformity, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Soon after him died the very learned Dr. Lawrence Humphries, a great friend and companion of Sampson's;

he was born in Buckinghamshire, and educated in Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was perpetual fellow. In the reign of Mary he obtained leave to travel, and continued at Zurich till Queen Elizabeth's accession, when he was made Queen's professor in divinity: he was afterwards President of Magdalen College, and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest preferment he could obtain, because he was a non-conformist from the ceremonies of the church. The Oxford historian says, he was a moderate and conscientious non-conformist, and stocked his college with a generation of that sort of men, that could not be rooted out in many years: he was certainly a strict Calvinist, and a bitter enemy of the papists; he was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, and a deeper divine than most of his age: he published many learned works, and at length died in his college, in the sixty-third year of his age, having had the honour to see many of his pupils bishops, while he who was every way their superior, was denied preferment for his puritanical principles.

To these we may add the venerable Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, an excellent and frequent preacher in his younger days, and an exile for religion in Mary's reign. He was afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester, London, and York, and a zealous defender of the laws against non-conformists of all sorts; when arguments failed, he would earnestly implore the secular arm; though he had no great opinion either of the discipline or ceremonies of the church, as appears by his last will and testament, in which are these remarkable expressions.

“ I am now, and ever have been persuaded, that some of these rites and ceremonies are not expedient for this church now; but that in the church reformed, and in all this time of the gospel, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged.” Such a testimony from the dying lips of one who had been a severe persecutor of honest men, for things which he always thought had better be disused than urged, deserves to be remembered. He died in the sixty-ninth year of his

his age, and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwell, where there is a monument erected to his memory, with his own effigies on the top, and a great number of his children kneeling round the sides of it.

CHAP. VIII.

ELIZABETH.

Publication of Satirical Pamphlets.—Mr. Udal's sufferings and death.—Examination of Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren.—Star-chamber.—Powers of the Commissioners debated.—Queen's Message to Parliament.—Act for punishing those who refused to attend the Established Church.—Brownists persecuted.—Barrow and Greenwood put to death for their Non-conformity. Affecting Narrative of Mr. Penny.—Sufferings of Papists.—Affairs of Scotland.—Remarks.—Bishop of London persecutes the Puritans.—Sabbatarian Controversy.—Darrel's Case.—Puritans turned over to the Assizes.—Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts.—Character of the Puritans.—State of Religion during this Reign.—The Queen's Death and Character.

WHILE there was any hopes of compromising matters between the church and puritans, the controversy was carried on with some decency; but when all these hopes were at an end, the contending parties loaded each other with the heaviest reproaches. The public press being shut against the puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one county to another to prevent a discovery. It was first set up at Moulsey in Surry; from thence it was conveyed to Fawsley in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry; from Coventry, to Woolston in Warwickshire, and from thence to Manchester in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satirical pamphlets were printed and dispersed all

over the kingdom, displaying on both sides, abundance of the lowest buffoonery and ridicule. It is sad, when a controversy about serious matters runs these dregs: ridicule and personal reflection may expose an adversary and make him ashamed, but will never convince or reconcile; it carries with it contempt which sticks in the heart, and is hardly ever to be removed; nor do I remember any cause that has been served by such methods. Yet after all, it was impossible for the Bishops to wipe off from themselves the charge of persecution and violation of the laws.

To put a stop to these pamphlets, the Queen sent a letter to the Archbishop, commanding him to make diligent enquiry after the printing press, and issued out her royal proclamation, "for the bringing in all seditious and schismatical books, and prohibiting any of her subjects from keeping any books in their custody, against the order of the church, or the rites and ceremonies of it."

As soon as the printing press was discovered, his grace wrote to the treasurer to prosecute the persons with whom it was found; but like an able politician, wishes it might be done by the lords of the council, rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners, because they had already suffered for supporting the government, which was wounded through their sides. Accordingly those who had possession of the puritan press, together with the printer and disperser, were deeply fined in the star-chamber; and others were put to death.

The Archbishop being now in his visitation, had framed twenty-two articles of enquiry, upon which the church-wardens of every parish were to be examined upon oath. By these articles they were to swear, that their minister was exactly conformable to the orders of the church, or else to impeach him; and to declare further, whether they knew of any of their neighbours or fellow-parishioners, that were common swearers, drunkards, usurers, witches, conjurerors, heretics; any man that had two wives; or woman that had two husbands; whether they knew any that went to conventicles or meetings for saying prayers in private houses; any that were of age and did not receive the sacrament at church three times a year;

with others, calculated to dissolve all friendship in country towns, and set a whole diocese in a flame. When Sir Francis Knollys had read the articles he sent them to the treasurer, calling them by their proper name, articles of inquisition, highly prejudicial to the royal prerogative : but there was no stopping his grace's career.

Among the divines who suffered death for the libels above-mentioned, where Mr. Udal, whose case being peculiarly hard, I shall give the reader an abstract of it. He had been minister of Kingston upon Thames ; where having been silenced by the official Dr. Hone, he lay by for half a year, having no farther prospect of usefulness in the church. At length the people of Newcastle-upon-Tyne wanting a minister, prevailed with the Earl of Huntingdon to send him to them ; when he had been there about a year, he was sent for to London by Lord Hunsdon and the Lord Chamberlain, in the name of the privy council : and on the thirteenth of January, appeared before the commissioners, when he was interrogated by the Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Chief Justice Anderson. The Bishop began the examination in this manner : Bishop. Have you the allowance of the Bishop of the diocese to preach at Newcastle ? Udal. There was neither Bishop of the diocese, nor Archbishop of York at that time. Fortescue. By what law then did you preach at Newcastle, being silenced at Kingston ? Udal. I know no law against it, seeing I was silenced only by the official, whose authority reaches not beyond his archdeaconry. L. C. J. Anderson. You are called to answer concerning certain books, thought to be of your writing. Udal. If it be any of Martin's books, (one of the pamphlets before alluded to) I have disowned them a year and a half ago at Lambeth. L. C. J. Anderson. Who was the author of the demonstration, or the dialogue ? Udal. I shall not answer. Anderson. Why will you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these ? Udal. Because I would not be thought to handle the cause of discipline as Martin did ; but I think otherwise of the other books, and care not though they should be fathered upon me ; I think the author did well, and therefore would not discover him if I knew him ; but would hinder it all I could. L. C. J. Anderson. Why

dare you not confess, if you be the author? Udal. I have said, I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them; but whether I made them, or no, I will not answer, for by the law I am not obliged to it. Anderson. That is true, if it concerned the loss of your life [and yet the judges tried and condemned him for his life.] Udal. I pray your lordship, does not the law say, "No man shall be put to answer without presentment before justices on matters of record, or by due proofs and writ original, &c." Anderson. That is law if it be not repealed. Bishop of Rochester. Pray let me ask you a question concerning your book. But Udal was upon his guard, and said, It is not yet proved to be mine. Mr. Solicitor. I am sorry, Mr. Udal, you will not answer or take an oath, which by law you ought to do; but he did not say by what law. Udal. Sir, if I have a liberty by law, there is no reason why I should not challenge it. Shew me by what law I am obliged to accuse myself. Dr. Lewin. You have taken the oath heretofore, why should you not take it now? Udal. I then voluntarily confessed certain things concerning my preaching of the points of discipline, which could never have been proved; and when my friends laboured to have me restored to my ministry, the Archbishop answered, there was sufficient matter against me by my own confession, why I should not be restored; whereupon I covenanted with my own heart never to be my own accuser again.

At length the Bishop told him his sentence for that time, was to be sent to the Gate-house: where he was kept close prisoner, and not suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or any body to speak with him. At the end of the half year, he was removed to the White Lion in Southwark, and so carried to the assizes at Croydon.

On the twenty-third of July, Mr. Udal was brought to Croydon with fetters on his legs, and indicted upon the statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2. before Baron Clarke and Mr. Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous and seditious libel, called a demonstration of discipline, dedicated to the supposed governors of the Church of England, in which is this passage; "Who can without blushing deny you (the Bishop) to be the cause of all ungodliness? Forasmuch as your government gives liberty for a man to

be any thing but a sound christian ; it is more free in these days to be a papist or a wicked man, than what we should be ; I could live twenty years as such in England, and it may be in a Bishop's house, and not be molested. So true it is, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions more."—These are the words of the indictment. To which Mr. Udal pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon the trial of his country. In opening the cause, Mr. Dalton the Queen's council, made a long invective against the new discipline, which he affirmed was not to be found in the word of God. To whom Udal replied, this being a controversy among learned divines, he thought Mr. Dalton might have suspended his judgment, since he had formerly shewed some liking to the cause. Upon which the judge said, Sirrah, sirrah ! answer to the matter. Mr. Dalton, go on to the proof of the points in the indictment, which were these three :—1. That Udal was the author of the book. 2. That he had a malicious intent in making it. 3. That the matters in the indictment were felony by the statute, 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first point was, to prove Udal to be the author of the book ; and here it is observable, that the witnesses were not brought into court, but only their examinations, which the register swore to. And first Stephen Chatfield's articles were produced, which contained a report of certain papers he had seen in Udal's study. Upon seeing them, he asked, whose writings they were ? Udal answered, a friend's. Chatfield then desired him to rid his hands of them, for he doubted they concerned the state. He added, that Udal told him another time, that if they put him to silence, he would give the Bishops such a blow as they never had. Chatfield was called to witness these things, but appeared not. Dalton said, he went out of the way on purpose. The judge said, Mr. Udal, you are glad of that. Mr. Udal answered, my lord, I wish heartily he was here : for I am sure, he could never say any thing against me to prove this point ; so I am able to prove it to be true, that he is very sorry that he ever made any complaint against me, confessing he did in anger when

Martin came first out, and by their suggestions whom he had proved since to be very bad men. Mr. Udal added, that the book was published before this conversation with Chatfield.

The examination of Nicholas Tomkins before the commissioners, was next produced. This Tomkins was now beyond sea, but the paper said, that Udal had told him, he was the author. But Tomkins himself sent word, that he would not for a thousand pounds affirm any more, than that he had heard Udal say, that he would not doubt but set his name to the book, if he had indifferent judges. And when Udal offered to produce his witnesses, the judge said, *that because the witnesses were against the Queen's Majesty they could not be heard.*

The confession of Henry Sharp of Northampton, was then read, who upon oath before the Lord Chancellor had declared, that he heard Mr. Penry say, that Mr. Udal was the author of the DEMONSTRATION. This was the whole evidence of the fact upon which he was convicted, not a single living witness being produced in court; so that the prisoner had no opportunity to ask any questions, or refute the evidence. And what methods were used to extort these confessions, may easily be imagined from the confessors flying their country, and then testifying their sorrow for what they had said.

To prove the sedition, and bring it within the statute, the council insisted upon his threatening the Bishops, who being the Queen's officers, it was construed a threatening of the Queen herself. The prisoner desired liberty to explain the passage, and his council insisted, that an offence against the Bishop, was not sedition against the Queen; but the judge gave it for law, that they who spake against the Queen's government, in causes ecclesiastical, or her laws, proceedings, and ecclesiastical officers, defamed the Queen herself. Upon this the jury were directed to find him guilty of the fact, and the judges took upon them the point of law, and condemned him as a felon. They might as well have condemned him without the form of a trial, for the statute was undoubtedly strained beyond the intent of it, to reach

his life. He behaved modestly and discreetly at the bar : and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable persons, he submitted to the judgment of the court.

Mr. Udal was convicted at summer assizes, 1590, but did not receive sentence till the lent assize ; in the mean time he was offered his pardon, if he would sign an acknowledgment of his guilt and contrition, and throw himself upon the Queen's mercy as a felon. But no arguments or threatenings of the judges could prevail with him to make such a sacrifice of the dignity of his innocence and sincerity. But the day before sentence was to be passed he offered a very manly and humble submission drawn up by himself. He also often and with great earnestness, petitioned his judges for their mediation with the Queen, in most dutiful language ; but the court would do nothing unless he signed their submission.

At the close of the lent assizes being called to the bar with the rest of the felons, and asked what he had to say, why judgment should not be given against him, according to the verdict, he delivered in a paper consisting of reasons against the judgment, in the conclusion of which he speaks thus :—"If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say as sometime Jeremiah said in a case not much unlike, Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you, but know you this, that if you put me to death you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land. As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous judge of the land will require it, at the hands of all that shall be guilty of it."

But nothing would avail, unless he would sign the submission the court had drawn up for him ; which his conscience not suffering him to do, sentence of death was passed upon him, and execution openly awarded ; but next morning the judges, by direction of the court, gave private order to respite it till her Majesty's pleasure was further known. The Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the submis-

sion; which he peremptorily refused. But as the Queen had been misinformed of his belief, he sent her Majesty a short confession of his faith, with an humble request, that if her Majesty would not graciously be pleased to pardon him, she would change his sentence into banishment, that the land might not be charged with his blood. King James of Scotland wrote to the Queen, requesting most earnestly, that for the sake of his intercession, Udal might be relieved of his present straight, promising to do the like for her Majesty in any matter she should recommend to him. The Turkey merchants offered also to send him as chaplain to one of their factories abroad, if he might have his life and liberty; to which Udal consented. The writer of Archbishop Whitgift's life says the Archbishop yielded to this petition; that the Lord keeper promised to further it; and that the Earl of Essex had a draught of a pardon ready prepared, with this condition annexed, that he should never return without the Queen's licence; but her Majesty never signed it, and the Turkey ships going away without him, poor unhappy Udal died a few months after in the Marshalsea prison, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief. Fuller says he was a learned man, and of a blameless life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than diligent in preaching. He was decently interred at St. George, Southwark, being honoured with the attendance of great numbers of the London ministers, who visited him in prison, and now wept over the remains of a man, who after a long and severe trial of his faith and patience, died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands upon record as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the government under which he suffered.

Though the moderate puritans publicly disowned the libels above-mentioned, and condemned the spirit with which they were written, they were nevertheless brought into trouble for their associations. Among others, Cartwright, father of the puritans, and master of the new hospital at Warwick, was suspended by his diocesan, and summoned before the high commissioners, who committed him to the Fleet with fifteen of his brethren. At their first appearance the commissioners asked them, where they

held their associations or assemblies, and how often? Who were present, and what matters were treated of? Who corrected or set forth the book of discipline, and who had subscribed or submitted to it? Whether in a christian monarchy the King is supreme governor of the church? or whether he is under the government of pastors, doctors, and such like? Whether it be lawful for a sovereign prince to ordain ceremonies, and make orders for the church? Whether the ecclesiastical government established in England be lawful, and allowed by the word of God? Whether the sacraments ministered according to the book of Common Prayer, are godly and rightly ministered, &c.

Mr. Cartwright's answer to these interrogatories was said by the civilians to be insufficient; upon which they exhibited thirty-one articles against him, September the first, 1590, and required him to answer them on oath. The first twenty-four articles charge him with renouncing his episcopal orders, by being re-ordained beyond sea, with interrupting the peace, and breaking the orders of the church since he came home; and with knowing the authors or printers of Martin Mar Prelate. Article 25. Charges him with penning, or procuring to be penned, the Book of Discipline; and with recommending the practice of it. Article 26. Charges him with being present at sundry pretended synods, classes, or conferences of ministers in divers counties. Article 27. That at such synods they subscribed the Book of Discipline, and promised to govern themselves by it as far as they could. Article 28. Charges him with setting up particular conferences in several shires, which were to receive the determinations of the general assembly, and put them in practice. Mr. Cartwright offered to clear himself of some of these articles upon oath, and to give his reasons for not answering the rest, but if this would not satisfy, he was determined to submit to the punishment the commissioners should award [which was imprisonment in the Fleet;] praying the Lord treasurer to make some provision for the poor people of Warwick who had no minister. The rest of Cartwright's brethren refusing the oath for the same reasons, viz. because they would not accuse themselves, nor bring their

friends into trouble, were committed to divers prisons. But the Archbishop, by advice of the treasurer, was not present at the commitment of his old adversary.

On the thirteenth of May they were brought before the **STAR-CHAMBER**, which was a court made up of certain noblemen, bishops, judges, and counsellors of the Queen's nomination, to the number of twenty or thirty, with her Majesty at their head, who is the sole judge when present, the other members being only to give their opinion to their sovereign by way of advice, which he (or she) disallows at their pleasure: but in the absence of the sovereign the determination is by a majority, the Lord chancellor or keeper having a casting vote. The determinations of this court, (says Mr. Rushworth) were not by the verdict of a jury, nor according to any statute law of the land, but according to the royal will and pleasure, and yet they were made as binding to the subject as an act of parliament. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, the practice of that court was thought to intrench upon the common law, though it seldom did any business; but in the latter end of this, and during the two next reigns, the court sat constantly, and was so unmerciful in its censures and punishments, that the whole nation cried aloud against it as a mark of the vilest slavery. Lord Clarendon says, "There were very few persons of quality in those times that had not suffered, or been perplexed, by the weight and fear of its censures and judgments; for having extended their jurisdiction from riots, perjuries, and the most notorious misdemeanors, to an asserting of all proclamations, and orders of state, to the vindicating illegal commissions and grants of monopolies, no man could hope to be any longer free from the inquisition of that court, than he resolved to submit to those and the like extraordinary courses."

When Cartwright and his brethren appeared before the court, Mr. Attorney general inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the oath, and when Mr. Fuller, counsel for the prisoners stood up to answer, he was commanded silence, and told, that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the gallies or perpetual banishment, which latter he thought proper for them, provided it was in

some remote place from whence they might not return. From the star-chamber they were remanded back to the high commission, where Bancroft had a long argument with Cartwright about the oath; from thence they were returned again to the star-chamber, and a bill was exhibited against them with twenty articles; in answer to which they maintain, that their associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any law of the realm; that they exercised no jurisdiction, nor moved any sedition, nor transacted any affairs in them, but with a due regard to their duty to their prince, and to the peace of the church; that they had agreed upon some regulations to render their ministry more edifying, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no law; and as for the oath, they refused it, not in contempt of the court, but as contrary to the laws of God and nature.

This answer not being satisfactory they were remanded to prison, where they continued two years without any further process, or being admitted to bail; in the mean time King James of Scotland interceded for them, with the Queen, requesting her Majesty to shew favour to Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, because of their great learning and faithful travels in the gospel. Cartwright himself petitioned for his liberty, as being afflicted with excessive pains of the gout and sciatica, which were much increased by lying in a cold prison; he wrote a most humble and pious letter to the Lady Russel, and another to the Lord treasurer, beseeching them to procure his enlargement with the Queen, though it were upon bond, expressing a very great concern that her Majesty should be so slightly offended with him, since he had printed no books for thirteen years past that could give the least uneasiness; and that he never had a finger in any other satyirical pamphlets; and further, that in the course of his ministry for five years past at Warwick, he had avoided all controversy. Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others of the University, wrote an excellent letter to the treasurer in favour of the prisoners, beseeching his lordship that they might not be more hardly dealt with than papists: but this not prevailing, after six months

they petitioned the Lords of the council to be enlarged upon bail, and wrote to the treasurer to second it, assuring his lordship of their loyalty to the Queen, and peaceable behaviour in the church.

They also applied to the Archbishop, who refused to consent to their enlargement, unless they would under their hands declare the Church of England to be a true church, and the whole order of public prayers, &c. consonant to the word of God, and renounce for the future all their assemblies, classes and synods; which they declined. These applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at last to address the Queen herself, for which purpose they drew up a declaration, containing a full answer to the several charges brought against them.

It was not till some time after this that Mr. Cartwright was released, upon promise of his quiet and peaceable behaviour, and restored to his hospital in Warwick, where he continued without further disturbance the rest of his days; but many of his brethren remained under suspension, while their families were starving. Mr. Hubbock of Oxford, one of the number, an excellent divine, was called before the commission for saying, that a great nobleman (meaning the Archbishop) had kneeled down to her Majesty, for staying and hindering her intent to reform religion. But his grace not being willing to insist upon this, commanded him to subscribe, and in case of refusal to enter into bonds not to preach any more, nor to come within ten miles of Oxford; which Mr. Hubbock, declined, saying,—“He had rather go to prison than consent to be silent from preaching, unless he was convinced that he had taught false doctrine, or committed any fault worthy of bonds.” Sir Francis Knollys and the treasurer interceded for him, but to no purpose.

These high proceedings of the commissioners, brought their powers under examination; most were of opinion that they exceeded the law, but some thought the very court itself was illegal, imagining the Queen could not delegate her supremacy to others. Mr. Cawdery, late minister of Luffingham in Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London for refusing the oath *ex officio*; but

not acquiescing in his lordship's sentence, the Bishop summoned him before the high commissioners, who deprived him for non-conformity and lack of learning, and gave away his living to another, though Mr. Cawdery was one of the most learned clergymen, and best preachers in the country, and offered to give proof of his learning before his judges. When this would not be accepted, he pleaded with tears his wife and eight poor children that had no maintenance, but the hearts of the commissioners not being mollified, Mr. Cawdery was advised to appeal to the court of the exchequer, and proceed against the chaplain who had possession of his living. On this occasion the jurisdiction of the court was argued before all the judges. Dr. Aubrey the civilian confessed, that their proceedings were not warrantable by the letter of the statute 1st Elizabeth, but were built upon the old canon law still in force ; though it has been shewn that their proceeding by way of inquisition was warranted by no law at all ; yet the judges confirmed the proceedings of the court, and left Mr. Cawdery with his large family to starve as a layman. The suit cost Mr. Cawdery's friends a round sum of money, besides two and twenty journeys which he made to London. But it was a brave stand for the rights of the subject, and staggered the Archbishop so much, that he declined the business of the commission afterwards, and sent most of his prisoners to the star-chamber. While these causes were depending, sundry books were wrote for and against the oath *ex officio* ; among others Mr. Morrice, attorney of the court of Wards, and member of parliament, published a treatise to prove, that no prelates, or ecclesiastical judges, have authority to compel any subject of the land to an oath, except in causes testamentary or matrimonial. Morrice's book was answered by Dr. Cosins a civilian, in his apology for the ecclesiastical proceedings ; to which Morrice had prepared a reply, but the Archbishop hearing of it, sent for him, and forbid the publication. This was his grace's shortest way of ending controversies.

Though Mr. Cartwright and his brethren above-mentioned had the resolution to lie in gaol for two years, rather than take the oath *ex officio*, others out of weakness,

or some lower principle, yielded to it, and discovered their classes, with the names of those that were present at them. These divines confessed upon examination, that they had several meetings with their brethren in London; that there had been assemblies of ministers in Cambridge, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire; that at these meetings there were usually between twelve and twenty ministers present; that they had a moderator; that they began and ended with prayer and that their usual debates were, how far they might comply with the establishment rather than forego their ministry, here they revised their book of discipline, and consulted of peaceable methods in subordination to the laws, for promoting a reformation in the church, and how far they might exercise their own platform in the mean time: but the worst part of their confession was, their discovering the names of the brethren who were present, which brought them into trouble. The reasons they gave for taking the oath were, 1. Because it was administered by a lawful magistrate. 2. Because the magistrate had a right to search out the truth in matters relating to the public safety. 3. Because it was impossible to keep things any longer secret. 4. Because there was nothing criminal in their assemblies, and the magistrate might suspect worse things of them than were true; and though their confessions might bring some into trouble, they might deliver others who were suspected. How far these reasons will justify the confessors, I leave with the reader; but it is certain they purchased their own liberties at the expence of their brethren's; for they had the favour to be dismissed, and live without disturbance afterwards.

To render the puritans odious to the public, all enthusiasts without distinction were ranked among them; even Hacket and his two prophets, Arthington and Coppinger: Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant wretch, who could not so much as read; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his empire in the room of the Queen's, who, he said, was no longer to be Queen of England: he defaced her Majesty's arms, and stabbed her picture through with his dagger, in the house where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the rack, he confessed

every thing they would have him, and upon his trial pleaded guilty, declaring he was moved thereunto by the spirit; he was hanged July 18th, and died raving like a madman. Coppinger starved himself in prison, but Arthington lived to recover his senses and was pardoned. Dr. Nichols says, that by the solicitations of these men, the puritans stirred up the people to rebellion, their design being communicated to Cartwright, Egerton, and Wigginton; whereas there was not a single puritan concerned with them, Fuller speaks candidly of the matter; "This business of Hacket, says he, happened unseasonably for the presbyterians; true it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the non-conformist, abhorred Hacket the heretic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety." However Cartwright wrote an apology for himself and his brethren, against the aspersions of Dr. Sutcliff, in which he declares, he had never seen Hacket nor Arthington, nor ever had any conference with them by letter or message. Had there been any ground for this vile charge, we should no doubt have found it among their articles of impeachment.

At the opening of the new parliament, the Queen signified her pleasure to the house, that they might redress such popular grievances as were complained of in their several counties, but should leave all matters of state to herself and the council; and all matters relating to the church, to herself and the Bishops. What an insignificant thing is a representative body of the nation, that must not meddle with matters either of church or state! But her Majesty was resolved to let them see she would be obeyed, for when Messrs. Wentworth and Bromley moved the house to address the Queen to name her successor, she sent for them, together with Messrs. Welsh and Stephens, and committed them to prison, where Wentworth remained many years. When it was moved in the house to address the Queen for the release of their members, it was answered by those privy counsellors who were of the house, that her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself; that the house must not call the Queen to account for what she did of her royal authority; that she

causes of their restraint might be high and dangerous; that her Majesty did not like such questions, nor did it become the house to deal in such matters.

After this it was a bold adventure of Mr. Attorney Morrice. and for which he paid very dear, to move the house, to enquire into the proceedings of the Bishops in their spiritual courts, and how far they could justify their inquisition, their subscriptions, their binding the Queen's subjects to their good behaviour, contrary to the laws of God and of the realm; their compelling men to take oaths to accuse themselves; and upon their refusal to degrade, deprive, and imprison them at pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied. At the same time he offered two bills to the house; one against the oath *ex officio* and the other against their illegal imprisonments; which last he prayed might be read presently. Sir Francis Knollys seconded the attorney, and was followed by Mr. Beal, who spoke on the same side; on which the Queen forbid him the court, and commanded him to absent from parliament. These debates awakened the civilians in the house, and particularly Mr. Dalton, who opposed the reading of the bill, because the Queen had often forbid them to meddle with the reformation of the church; which Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's secretaries of state confirmed. As soon as the Queen was acquainted with the proceedings of the house, she sent for the speaker Coke, and commanded him to tell the house, that it was wholly in her power to call, to determine, to assent or dissent, to any thing done in parliament; that the calling of this was only, that such as neglected the service of the church might be compelled to it with some sharp laws; and that the safety of her Majesty's person and the realm might be provided for; that it was not meant that they should meddle with matters of state or causes ecclesiastical; that she wondered they should attempt a thing so contrary to her commandment; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was her royal pleasure, that no bill touching any matters of state and causes ecclesiastical should be there exhibited. At the same time Mr. Attorney Morrice was seized on in the house by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office

in the court of the Dutchy at Lancaster, disabled from any practice in his profession, as a barrister at law, and kept for some years prisoner in Tutbury Castle.

If there had been a just spirit of English liberty in the house of commons, they would not have submitted so tamely to the insults, of an arbitrary court, which arrested their members for liberty of speech, and committed them to prison; which forbid their redressing the grievances of church and state, and sent for their bills out of the house and cancelled them. These were such acts of sovereign power which none of her Majesty's predecessors had dared to assume, which cost one of her successors his crown and his life. But this parliament, instead of asserting their own and the people's liberties, stands upon record for one of the severest acts of oppression and cruelty, that ever was past by the representatives of a protestant nation, and a free people. It is entitled, an act for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church, and persuading others to impugn the Queen's authority in ecclesiastical causes. It is here enacted,—“That if any person above the age of sixteen shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service, for the space of one month, without lawful cause; or shall at any time, forty days after the end of this session, by printing, writing, or express words, go about to persuade any of her Majesty's subjects to deny, withstand, or impugn her Majesty's power or authority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to church, to hear divine service, or receive the communion according as the law directs; or shall be present at any unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, that every person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to church, and sign a declaration of their conformity. But in case the offenders against this statute, being lawfully convicted, shall not submit and sign the declaration within three months, then they shall **ABJURE THE REALM AND GO INTO PERPETUAL BANISHMENT.** And if they do not depart within the time limited by the

quarter sessions, or justices of peace; or if they return at any time afterwards without the Queen's licence, they shall **SUFFER DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY**.—So that as the Lord chancellor King observed at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, the of case the non-conformists by this act, was worse than that of felons at common law, for these were allowed the benefit of clergy, but the others were not. This statute was levelled against the laity as well as the clergy; and the severe execution of it with that of the 23rd of Elizabeth, in this and the following reigns, brought infinite mischiefs upon the kingdom; many families being forced into banishment; some put to death, as in cases of treason; and others as the authors of seditious pamphlets.

The moderate puritans made a shift to evade the force of this law, by coming to church when common prayer was almost over and by receiving the sacrament in some churches where it was administered with some latitude; but the weight of it fell upon the separatists, who renounced all communion with the church in the word and sacraments, as well as in the common prayer and ceremonies; these were called **BROWNISTS OR BARROWISTS**, from one Barrow a gentleman of the Temple, who was now at their head. We have given an account of their distinguishing principles in 1580, since which time their numbers were prodigiously increased, though the Bishops pursued them, and shut them up in prison without bail, or troubling themselves to bring them to a trial. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that they were not less than twenty thousand, divided into several congregations in Norfolk and Essex, and in the parts about London: there were several considerable men now at their head, as Mr. Smith, Mr. Jacob, the learned Mr. Ainsworth, the Rabbi of his age, and others.

The congregation about London being pretty numerous, formed themselves into a church, Mr. Francis Johnson being chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, Mr. Greenwood teacher, Messrs. Bowman and Lee, deacons, Messrs. Studley and Kinaston, elders, all in one day, at the house of Mr. Fox, in Nicholas-Lane, in 1592. Seven persons were baptised at the same time without

godfathers or godmothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their faces with water, and pronouncing the form, I baptize thee in the name, &c. The Lords supper was also administered in this manner; five white loaves being set upon the table, the pastor blessed them by prayer, after which having broke the bread, he delivered it to some, and the deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting about the table, using the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24. In the close they sung a hymn, and made a collection for the poor. When any person came first into the church he made this protestation or promise, that he would walk with them so long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the word of God.

The congregation being obliged to meet in different places to cover themselves from the Bishop's officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's day at Islington, in the very same place where the protestant congregation met in Queen Mary's reign; about fifty-six were taken prisoners, and sent two by two to the gaols about London, where several of their friends had been confined for a considerable time. At their examination they confessed, that for some years they had met in the fields in the summer time, at five of the clock in the morning, of the Lords day, and in the winter at private houses; that they continued all day in prayer and expounding the scriptures; that they dined together, and after dinner made a collection for their diet, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison; that they did not use the Lord's prayer, apprehending it not to be intended by our blessed Saviour to be used as a form, after the sending down of the Spirit at pentecost. Their adversaries charged them with several extravagancies about baptism, marriage, lay-preaching, &c. from which they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious reply, shewing how far they disowned, and with what limitations they acknowledged the charge. But the Bishops observing no measures with this people, they ventured to lay their case before the Lords of the council in an humble petition. But the privy council were afraid to move in an affair that lay more immediately before the high commission.

Mr. Smith one of their ministers, after he had been in prison twelve months, was called before the commissioners, and being asked whether he would go to church; answered, that he should dissemble and play the hypocrite if he should do it to avoid trouble, for he thought it utterly unlawful; to which one of the commissioners answered, Come to church and obey the Queen's laws, and be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or devil if thou wilt. Upon his refusal he was remanded to the Clink, and his brethren to the Fleet, where by order of Mr. Justice Young, one of the commissioners, they were shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the liberty of the prison; here they died like rotten sheep, some of the disease of the prison, some for want, and others of infectious distempers. Among those who perished in prison was Mr. Roger Rippon, who dying in Newgate, his fellow-prisoners put this inscription upon his coffin.

"This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her Majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury with his high commissioners have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ," &c. Many copies of this inscription were dispersed among friends, for which some were apprehended and confined. The privy council taking notice of the above-mentioned supplications, the prisoners in the several gaols about London, to the number of fifty-nine, joined in a petition to the Lord treasurer, to which they subscribed their names. Among the names subscribed to this petition is Mr. H. Barrowe, an ingenious and learned man, but of too warm a spirit, as appears by his book, entitled, "A brief discovery of false churches." This gentleman having been several years in prison, sent another supplication to the attorney-general and also to the privy council, for a conference with the Bishops, or that their ministers might be conferred with in their hearing, without taunts or railing, for searching out the truth in love. But all these petitions were rejected; and these pious and conscientious persons, after a long and illegal imprisonment, were abandoned to the severity of an unrighteous law; some of them

being publicly executed as felons, and others proscribed and sent into banishment.

Among the former were, Mr. Barrowe of Gray's Inn, and Messrs. Greenwood and Penry, ministers; the two first had been in prison some years, and several times before the commissioners. Barrowe was apprehended at the Clink prison in Southwark, where he went to visit his brother Greenwood; he was carried immediately to Lambeth, where the Archbishop would have examined him upon the oath *ex officio*, but he refused to take it, or to swear at all upon the bible; but, says he, by God's grace, I will answer nothing but the truth. So the Archbishop took a paper of interrogatories into his hand and asked him, 1. Whether the Lord's prayer might be used in the church? He answered, that in his opinion it was rather a summary than a form, and not finding it used by the apostles, he thought it should not be constantly used by us. 2. Whether forms of prayer may be used in the church? He answered, that none such ought to be imposed. 3. Whether the Common Prayer be idolatrous or superstitious? He answered, that in his opinion it was so. 4. Whether the sacraments of the church are true sacraments and seals of the favour of God? He answered, he thought as they were publicly administered they were not. 5. Whether the laws of the church are good? He answered, that many of them were unlawful and anti-christian. 6. Whether the church of England is a true church? He answered, that as it was now formed it was not; yet that there are many excellent good christians of it. 7. Whether the Queen be supreme governor of the church, and may make laws for it? He answered, that the Queen was supreme governor of the church, but might not make laws other than Christ had left in his word. 8. Whether a private person may reform if the prince neglects it? He answered that no private persons might reform the state, but they are to abstain from any unlawful thing commanded by the prince. 9. Whether every particular church ought to have a presbytery? He answered in the affirmative. After this examination he was remanded to close prison, and denied a copy of his answers, though he earnestly desired it.

His next examination was before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found twelve of his brethren in the same circumstances with himself, but was not admitted to speak to them. Being called into another room, and kneeling down at the end of the table, the Lord Treasurer spoke to him thus. Treasurer, Why are you in prison? Barrowe, upon the statute against recusants. Treasurer, Why will you not go to church? Barrowe, because I think the church of England as established by law not a church of Christ, nor their manner of worship lawful. After a long debate on this head the treasurer said, you complain of injustice, where have you wrong? Barrowe, in being kept in prison without due trial; and in the misery we suffer by a close imprisonment contrary to law. The Archbishop said, he had matter to call him before him for an heretic. Barrowe replied, that you shall never do, I may err, but heretic by the grace of God I will never be. It being observed that he did not pay such reverence to the Archbishop and Bishop of London as to the temporal Lords, the chancellor asked him, if he did know those two men, pointing to the Bishops. To which he answered, that he had cause to know them, but did not own them for Lord Bishops. Being then asked by what name he would call the Archbishop; he replied that he was a monster, a persecutor, a compound of he knew not what, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, like the second beast spoken of in the revelations: Upon which the Archbishop rose out of his place, and with a severe countenance said, My Lords, will you suffer him? So he was carried away.

Mr. Greenwood the minister was examined after the same manner before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Lords chief justices, the Lord chief baron, and the Master of the Rolls: He had interrogatories put to him as Barrowe had, but refused to swear, and made much the same answer with the other. At length, they together with Saxio Bellot, gent. Daniel Studley, and Robert Bowlle, were indicted at the sessions house in the Old-Bailey, upon the statute of 23 Eliz. for writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pam-

phlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and government; when they had only wrote against the church; but this was the Archbishop's artful contrivance, to throw off the odium of their death from himself to the civil magistrate; for as the learned Mr. Hugh Broughton observes, "though Messrs. Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for disturbance of the state; yet this would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church."—Upon their trial they behaved with constancy and resolution, shewing no token of recognition, says the attorney, nor prayer for mercy: they protested their inviolable loyalty to the Queen, and obedience to her government; that they never wrote, nor so much as intended any thing against her highness, but only against the Bishops and the hierarchy, of the church; which was apparent enough. However the jury brought them all in guilty. Bellot desired a conference, and with tears confessing his sorrow for what he had done, was pardoned. Bowlle and Studley being looked upon only as accessaries, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken loyalty to the Queen, and refusing to ask for mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to prison; but Barrowe and Greenwood were to be made examples. Sentence of death being passed upon them, sundry divines were appointed to persuade them to recant; who not succeeding, they were brought in a cart to Tyburn, and exposed under the gallows for some time to the people to see if the terrors of death would affright them; but remaining constant, they were brought back to Newgate, and on the sixth of April, carried a second time to Tyburn, and executed. At the place of execution they gave such testimonies of their unfeigned piety towards God, and loyalty to the Queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous reign, that when Dr. Reynolds who attended them, reported their behaviour to her Majesty, she repented that she had yielded to their death. They had been in close prison ever since the year 1590, exposed to all the severities of cold, hunger, and nakedness, which Mr. Barrowe represented in a supplication to the Queen, concluding with an earnest desire of deliverance from their

present miseries, though it were by death; but the Archbishop intercepted the paper, and endeavoured to prevent the knowledge of their condition from coming to the Queen. Thus fell these two excellent gentlemen a sacrifice to the resentments of an angry prelate.

About six weeks after this, Mr. J. Penry or Ap-Henry, a Welsh divine, was executed for the same crime, in a cruel and inhuman manner. He was a pious and learned man, (says Strype) but mistaken in his principles, and hot in his temper; a zealous platformer, and a declared enemy of the Archbishop. He was born in the county of Brecknock, and educated first at Cambridge, and afterwards in St. Alban's-Hall, Oxford, where he entered into holy orders being well acquainted with arts and languages. He preached in both universities with applause; and afterwards travelling into Wales, was the first, as he said, that preached the gospel publicly to the Welsh, and sowed the good seed among his countrymen. In the year 1588, he published a view of such public wants and disorders as are in her Majesty's country of Wales, with an humble petition to the high court of parliament for their redress: wherein is shewed not only the necessity of reforming the state of religion among that people, but also the only way in regard of substance to bring that reformation to pass. He also published an exhortation to the governors and people of her Majesty's country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the gospel planted among them.

When Martin-mar-prelate, and the other satyrical pamphlets against the Bishops were published, a special warrant was issued from the privy council, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an enemy of the state; and that all the Queen's good subjects should take him so to be. To avoid being taken he retired into Scotland, where he continued till this present year. Here he made many observations of things relating to religion, for his own private-use; and at length prepared the heads of a petition, or an address to the Queen, to shew her Majesty the true state of religion, and how ignorant she was of many abuses in the church of England, especially in the management of ecclesiastical matters; and likewise to

intercede for so much favour, that he might by her authority, have liberty to go into Wales, his native country, to preach the gospel. With this petition he came from Scotland, resolving to finish and deliver it with his own hand, as he should find opportunity; but upon his arrival he was seized with his papers in Stepney parish, by the information of the vicar, in the Month of May, and arraigned, condemned, and executed hastily the very same month.

It appears by this petition, as well as by his letter sent to the congregation of separatists in London, that Mr. Penry was a Brownist. His book of observations was also seized, out of which were drawn articles of accusation against him. He was indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz. chap. 2d, for seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen's most excellent Majesty, tending to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects; and was convicted of felony in the King's-bench, before the Lord chief justice Popham. He received sentence of death May 25, and was executed on the 29th of the same month. It was designed to endict him for the books published in his name; but by the abvice of counsel, Mr. Penry drew up a paper, entitled, Mr. Penry's declaration, That he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name. Here he observes, that the statute was not intended against such as wrote only against the hierarchy of the church; for then it must condemn many of the most learned protestants both at home and abroad; but relates to such as defame her Majesty's royal person: whereas he had always wrote most dutifully of her person and government, having never encouraged sedition, or insurrection against her Majesty, but the contrary: nor had he ever been at any assembly or conventicle, where any, under or above the number of twelve, were assembled with force of arms, or otherwise, to altar any thing established by law: nor was it his opinion that private persons should of their own authority, attempt any such thing; for he had always wrote and spoke to the contrary. But however, if all this had been true, he ought to have been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath of two witnesses, and

have been indicted within one year; otherwise the statute itself clears him in express words.

The court apprehending this declaration might occasion an argument at law, set aside his printed books, and convicted him upon the petition and private observations above-mentioned, which was still harder, as he represented it himself in a letter to the lord treasurer, immediately after his condemnation, with which he inclosed a protestation, declaring that he wrote his observations in Scotland; that they were the sum of certain objections made by people in those parts against her Majesty and her government, which he intended to examine, but had not so much as looked into them for fourteen or fifteen months past, that even in these writings so imperfect, unfinished, and inclosed within his private study, he had shewn his dutifulness to the Queen, nor had he ever a secret wandering thought of the least disloyalty to her majesty.

It was never known before this time, that a minister and a scholar was condemned to death for private papers found in his study, nor do I remember more than once since that time, in whose case it was given for law, that *scribere est agere*, that to write has been construed an overt-act; but Penry must die right or wrong; the Archbishop was the first man who signed the warrant for his execution, and after him Puckering and Popham. The warrant was sent immediately to the sheriff, who the very same day erected a gallows at St. T. Waterings; and while the prisoner was at dinner, sent his officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon; accordingly he was hurried in a cart to the place of execution; when he came thither the sheriff would not suffer him to speak to the people, nor make any profession of his faith towards God, or his loyalty to the Queen, but ordered him to be turned off in a hurry.

The court being struck with this behaviour of the Brownists, began to be ashamed of hanging men for sedition against the state, who died with such strong professions of loyalty to the Queen and government, and therefore could suffer only for the cause of religion. This raised an odium against the Bishops and the high commissioners, who all men knew were at the bottom of these

proceedings. It is said the Queen herself was displeased with them when she heard of the devotion and loyalty of the sufferers. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the future on the late statute of the 31st. Eliz. to retain the Queen's subjects in their obedience; and instead of putting the Brownists to death, to send them into banishment. Upon this statute Mr. Johnson, pastor of the Brownist church, was convicted, and all the gaols were cleared for the present; though the commissioners took care within the compass of another year, to fill them again.

The papists were distressed by this, and the statute of 23. Eliz. as much as the Brownists, though they met with much more favour from the ecclesiastical courts; the Queen either loved or feared them, and would often say, she would never ransack their consciences if they would be quiet; but they were always libelling her Majesty, and in continual plots against her government. While the Queen of Scots was alive, they supported her pretensions to the crown, and after her death they maintained in print the title of the Infanta of Spain: They were concerned with the Spaniards in the invasion of 1588, which obliged the Queen to confine some of their chiefs in Wisbech Castle, and other places of safety, but she was tender of their lives. In the first eleven years of her reign, not one Roman catholic was prosecuted capitally for religion; in the next ten years, when the pope had excommunicated the Queen and the whole kingdom, and there had been dangerous rebellions in the north, there were only twelve priests executed, and most of them for matters against the state. In the ten following years, when swarms of priests and jesuits came over from foreign seminaries, to invite the catholics to join with the Spaniards, the laws were girt closer upon them, fifty priests being executed, and fifty five banished; but as soon as the danger was over, the laws were relaxed, and by reason of the ignorance and laziness of the beneficed clergy, the missionaries gained over such numbers of proselytes in the latter end of this reign, as endangered the whole government and reformation in the beginning of the next.

The last and finishing hand was put to the presbyterian

discipline in Scotland this year. That kingdom had been governed by different factions during the minority of King James, which prevented a full settlement of religion. The general assembly in 1566 had approved of the Geneva discipline, but the parliament did not confirm the votes of the assembly, nor formally deprive the Bishops of their power, though all church affairs from that time were managed by presbyteries and general assemblies. In the year 1574, they voted the Bishops to be only pastors of one parish; and to shew their power, they deposed the Bishop of Dunkeld, and delated the Bishop of Glasgow. In the year 1577, they ordained that all Bishops be called by their own names; and the next year voted the very name of a Bishop a grievance. In the year 1580, the general assembly with one voice declared diocesan episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same year King James with his family, and the whole nation, subscribed a confession of faith, with a solemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the protestant doctrine and the presbyterian government. After this the Bishops were restored by parliament to some parts of their ancient dignity: and it was made treason for any man to procure the innovation or diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates; but when this act was proclaimed, the ministers protested against it, as not having been agreed to by the Kirk. In the year 1587, things took another turn, and his Majesty being at the full age of twenty-one, consented to an act to take away Bishops' lands and annex them to the crown. In the year 1590 it was ordained by the general assembly, that all that bore office in the kirk, or should hereafter do so, should subscribe to the book of discipline. In the year 1592, all acts of parliament whatsoever made by the King's highness or any of his predecessors, in favour of popery or episcopacy, were annulled; and in particular, the act of May 22, 1584, "For granting commissions to Bishops or other ecclesiastical judges, to receive presentations to benefices, and give collations thereupon."

This act, for the greater solemnity, was confirmed again in 1593, and again this present year, so that from this time, to 1612, presbytery was undoubtedly the legal

establishment of the kirk of Scotland, as it had been in fact ever since the reformation. To return to England. Several champions appeared about this time for the cause of episcopacy, but the most celebrated performance, and of greatest note, was Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, in eight books: the four first of which were published this year; the fifth in 1597, and the three last not till many years after his death, for which reason some have suspected them to be interpolated, though they were deposited in the hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose copy they were printed, about the beginning of the civil wars.

This is esteemed the most learned defence of the Church of England, wherein all that would be acquainted with its constitution (says a learned prelate) may see upon what foundation it is built. Hooker begun his work while master of the Temple, but meeting with some trouble, and many interruptions in that place, the Archbishop at his request, removed him to Boscum in the diocese of Salisbury, and gave him a minor prebend in that church; here he finished his four first books; from thence he was removed to the parsonage of Bishopsborn in Kent, where he finished his work and his life in the forty-seventh year of his age.

The main pillars of Mr. Hooker's fabric, and the foundation of all human establishments, are these, that the church, like other societies, is invested with power to make laws for its well-being; and that where the scripture is silent, human authority may interpose. All men allow, that human societies may form themselves after any model, and make what laws they please for their well-being; and that the christian church has some things in common with all societies as such, as the appointing time and place, and the order of public worship, &c. but it must be remembered, that the christian church is not a mere voluntary society, but a community formed and constituted by Christ the sole king and lawgiver of it, who has made sufficient provision for its well-being to the end of the world. It does not appear in the New Testament, that the church is empowered to mend or alter the constitution of Christ, by creating new officers, or making new laws, though the christian world has ventured upon

it. Christ gave his church prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, for the perfecting the saints, and edifying his body; but the successors of the apostles in the government of the church apprehending these not sufficient, have added patriarchs, cardinals, deans, archdeacons, canons, and other officials. The church is represented in scripture as a spiritual body; her ordinances, privileges, and censures, being purely such; but later ages have wrought the civil powers into her constitution, and kept men within her pale, by all the terrors of this world, as fines, imprisonments, banishments, fire and sword. It is the peculiar excellence of the gospel worship to be plain and simple, free from the yoke of jewish ceremonies; but the antichristian powers thinking this a defect, have loaded it with numberless ceremonies of their own invention; and though there are laws in scripture sufficient for the direction of the church, as constituted by Christ and his apostles, they have thought fit to add so many volumes of ecclesiastical laws, canons, and injunctions, as have confounded, if not subverted the laws of Christ.

Whereas if men considered the church as a spiritual body, constituted by Christ its sole lawgiver for spiritual purposes, they would then see that it had no concern with their civil rights, properties and estates, nor any power to force men to be of its communion, by the pains and penalties of this world. The laws of the New Testament would appear sufficient for the well-being of such a society; and in cases where there are no particular rules or injunctions, that it is the will of Christ and his apostles, there should be liberty and mutual forbearance; there would then be no occasion for christian courts (as they are called) nor for the interposition of human authority, any further than to keep the peace. Upon the whole, as far as any church is governed by the laws and precepts of the New Testament so far is it a church of Christ; but when it sets up its own by-laws as terms of communion, or works the policy of the civil magistrate into its constitution, it is so far a creature of the state.

Hooker's two last propositions are inconsistent with the first principles of the reformation, viz. that all that are born within the confines of an established church, and are

baptized into it, are bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws, under such penalties as the church in her wisdom shall direct. Must I then be of the religion of the country where I am born? that is, at Rome a papist; in Saxony a lutheran; in Scotland a presbyterian; and in England a diocesan prelatist; and this under such penalties as the church in her wisdom shall think fit? Must I believe as the church believes, and submit to her laws right or wrong? Have I no right as a man and a christian, to judge and act for myself, as long as I continue a loyal and faithful subject to my prince? Surely religious principles and church communion should be the effect of examination and a deliberate choice, or they lose their name, and degenerate into hypocrisy or atheism.

From general principles, Hooker proceeds to vindicate the particular rites and ceremonies of the church, and to clear them from the exceptions of the puritans, which may easily be done when he has proved, that the church has a discretionary power to appoint what ceremonies, and establish what order she thinks fit; he may then vindicate not only the ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome, for no doubt that church alleges all her ceremonies conducive to her well-being, and not inconsistent with the laws of Christ.

This year died Dr. John Alymer, Bishop of London, whose character has been sufficiently drawn in this history; he was born in Norfolk, educated in Cambridge, and in Mary's reign as an exile for religion; he was such a little man, that Fuller says, when the searchers were clearing the ship in which he made his escape, the merchant put him into a great wine butt that had a partition in the middle, so that Aylmer sat enclosed in the hinder part, while the searchers drank off the wine which they saw drawn out of the head on the other part; he was of an active, busy spirit, quick in his language, and after his advancement of a stout and imperious behaviour; in his younger days he was inclined to puritanism, but when he was made a bishop he became a resolute champion of the hierarchy, and a bitter persecutor of his former friends. In his latter days he was very covetous, and too lax in his morals: he usually played at bowls on Sundays in the

afternoon; and used such language at his game, as justly exposed his character to reproach; but with all these blemishes, the writer of his life, Mr. Strype, will have him a learned, pious, and humble bishop. He died at Fulham, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Aylmer was succeeded by Dr. Fletcher, Bishop of Worcester, who in his primary visitation gave out twenty-seven articles of enquiry to the church-wardens concerning their preachers; as, whether they prayed for the Queen as supreme head over all persons and causes within her dominions, ecclesiastical and temporal? Whether they were learned, or frequented conventicles, or taught innovations, or commended the new discipline, or spoke in derogation of any part of the Common Prayer, or did not administer the sacrament in their own persons at certain times of the year? &c. By these, and such like enquiries, the prisons which had been lately cleared, were replenished; for by an account sent to the Queen from the ecclesiastical commissioners towards the close of this year, it appears that in the different prisons there were eighty-nine prisoners for religion; some popish recusants, and the rest protestant non-conformists; of whom twenty-four had been committed by the ecclesiastical commission, and the rest by the council and the bishops' courts. But his lordship's proceedings were quickly interrupted, by his falling under her Majesty's displeasure a few months after his translation, for marrying a second wife, which the Queen looked upon as indecent in an elderly clergyman; for this she banished him the court, and commanded the Archbishop to suspend him from his bishopric; but after six months her Majesty being a little pacified, ordered his suspension to be taken off, though she would never admit him into her presence, which had such an influence upon his great spirit, as was thought to hasten his death, which happened the next year, as he was sitting in his chair smoking a pipe of tobacco. The year following he was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, the great adversary of the puritans.

These violent proceedings of the Bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where their leaders, Johnson, Smith, Ainsworth, Robinson, Jacob, and others

were' gone beforehand, and with the leave of the states were erecting churches after their own model in various places. Their church at Amst~~er~~am had like to have been torn in pieces at first by intestine divisions, but afterwards flourished under a succession of pastors for above a hundred years. Mr. Robinson pastor of the church at Leyden, first struck out the congregational or independent form of church government, and at length part of this church transplanting themselves into America, laid the foundation of the noble colony of New England, as will be seen hereafter.

Hitherto the controversy between the church and puritans had been chiefly about habits and ceremonies, and church-discipline, but now it began to open upon points of doctrine; for this year Dr. Bound published his treatise OF THE SABBATH, wherein he maintains the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God; that christians are bound to rest on the Lord's days as much as the Jews on the Mosaical sabbath, the commandment of rest being moral and perpetual; that therefore it was not lawful to follow our studies or worldly business on that day; nor to use such recreations and pleasures as were lawful on other days, as shooting, fencing, and bowling, &c. This book had a wonderful spread among the people, and wrought a mighty reformation; so that the Lord's day, which used to be profaned by interludes, may-games, morrice-dances, and other sports and recreations, began to be kept more precisely, especially in corporations. All the puritans fell in with this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private acts of devotion, which the governing clergy exclaimed against as a restraint of christian liberty; as putting an unequal lustre on the Sunday, and tending to eclipse the authority of the church in appointing other festivals. Mr. Rogers, author of a commentary on the thirty-nine articles, writes in his preface, That it was the comfort of his soul, and would be to his dying day, that he had been the man, and the means, that the sabbatarian errors were brought to the light and knowledge of the state. But I should have thought this clergyman might have had as much comfort upon a dying

bed, if he had spent his zeal in recommending the religious observation of that sacred day. Bound might carry his doctrine too high if he advanced it to a level with the jewish rigors; but it was certainly unworthy the character of divines to encourage men in shooting, fencing, and other diversions on the Lord's day, which they are forward enough to give way to, without the countenance and example of their spiritual guides. Archbishop Whitgift called in all the copies of Bound's book, by his letters and officers at synods and visitations, and forbid it to be reprinted; and the Lord chief justice Popham did the same; both of them declaring, that the sabbath doctrine agreed neither with the doctrine of our church, nor with the laws and order of this kingdom; that it disturbed the peace of the commonwealth and church, and tended to schism in the one, and sedition in the other; but notwithstanding all this caution, the book was read privately more than ever. The Archbishop's head was no sooner laid, than Bound prepared his book for the press a second time, and published it with large additions, and such was its reputation, that scarce any comment or catechism was published, by the stricter divines for many years, in which the morality of the sabbath was not strongly recommended and urged: but this controversy will return again in the next reign.

All the protestant divines in the church, whether puritans or others, seemed of one mind hitherto about the doctrines of faith, but now there arose a party which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing the received opinions about predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of our Saviour's redemption. The articles of the Church of England were thought by all men hitherto to favour the explication of Calvin; but these divines would make them stand neuter, and leave a latitude for the subscriber to take either side of the question. All the puritans to a man maintained the articles of the church to be calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other interpretation, and so did far the greatest number of the conforming clergy; but as the new explications of Arminius grew into repute, the calvinists were reckoned old fashioned divines, and at

length branded with the character of **DOCTRINAL PURITANS**.

The debate began in the University of Cambridge, where Mr. Barret, in a sermon declared himself against Calvin's doctrine about predestination and falling from grace; reflecting with some sharpness upon that great divine, and advising his hearers not to read him. For this he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's church, according to a form prescribed by his superiors; which he read after a manner that shewed he did it only to save his place in the University. This was so offensive to the scholars, that forty or fifty graduates of the several colleges signed a petition, desiring some further course might be taken with him, that the great names which he had reproached, as P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. might receive some reparation. Both parties appealed to the Archbishop, who blamed the University for their too hasty proceedings, and seemed to take part with Barret; but the heads of colleges in a second letter vindicated their proceedings, desiring his grace not to encourage such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young fellow, and insisted on the rights and prerogatives of the University. At length Mr. Barret was sent for to Lambeth, and having been examined before the Archbishop and some other divines, they agreed that he had maintained some errors, and enjoined him in an humble manner to confess his ignorance and mistake, and not to teach the like doctrines for the future; but he chose rather to quit the University. This Barret was a conceited youth, who did not treat his superiors with decency: in one of his letters he calls the grave and learned Mr. Perkins, a little contemptible fellow: but at last he turned papist. The fire was no sooner kindled, than it was observed that Barret and his friends were countenanced by the high conformists and Roman catholics, and that his adversaries took part with the puritans, which was like to produce a new division in the church.

To put an end to these disputes, the heads of the University sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal to Lambeth, to consult with the Archbishop, and some other learned

divines upon these points; who at length concluded upon the following nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth articles, to which the scholars in the University were strictly enjoined to conform their judgments. The articles were as follow:—1. That God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life, and reprobated others to death. 2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life, is not foreseen faith or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated, but the good will and pleasure of God. 3. The number of the predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased. 4. They who are not predestinated to salvation, shall be necessarily condemned for their sins. 4. A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying influence of the spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail, or go off either finally or totally. 6. A justified person has a full assurance and certainty of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ. 7. Saving grace is not communicated to all men; neither have all men such a measure of divine assistance, that they may be saved if they will. 8. No person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draws him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ. 9. It is not in every one's will and power to be saved.

These high propositions were drawn up, and consented to by Archbishop Whitgift, Dr. Fletcher, Bishop of London, Dr. Vaughan, elect of Bangor, and some other: they were sent to Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of York, and Dr. Young of Rochester, who subscribed them, only wishing that the word *necessarily* in the fourth article, and those words in the seventh article, *if they will*, might be omitted. The Archbishop in his letter which he sent to the University with the articles, says they are to look upon them not as new laws and decrees, but only as an explication of certain points which they apprehended to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the laws of the land. But forasmuch as they had not the Queen's sanction, he desires they may not become a public act, but used privately and with discretion. He adds, that her Majesty

was fully persuaded of the truth of them ; which is strange when she commanded Sir R. Cecil to signify to the Archbishop, that she disliked much that any allowance had been given by his grace and his brethren for any such points to be disputed, &c.

The Queen's design was to stifle the controversy in its birth ; for if she was dissatisfied with the Archbishop's private determinations, she was downright angry with Dr. Baro, a Frenchman, and one of the divinity professors at Cambridge, for continuing the debate. She said, that being an alien, and humanely harboured and enfranchised both himself and family, he ought to have carried himself more quietly and peaceably. His case was this ; in a sermon preached before the University, he asserted, 1. That God created all men according to his own likeness in Adam, and consequently to eternal life, from which he rejects no man but on the account of his sins, 2. That Christ died for all mankind, and was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, original and actual : the remedy provided by him being as extensive as the ruin of the fall. 3. That the promises of eternal life made to us in Christ, are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter. For these propositions he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, who examined him by several interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from those controversies in his lectures and sermons for the future. They acquainted Secretary Cecil by letter with their proceedings, in the which they call his doctrines popish, and say, that for fourteen or fifteen years he has taught in his lectures, and preached in his sermons, divers points of doctrine contrary to those which have been taught and read ever since her Majesty's reign, and agreeable to the errors of popery, by which means they fear the whole body of that religion will break in upon them ; they therefore pray his lordship's assistance for the suppressing them.

On the other hand Baro wrote to the Archbishop to keep him in his place, promising obedience to his grace's commands, and to keep the peace of the University by dropping the controversy in silence. He also wrote to Secretary

Cecil to put a stop to the proceedings of the vice-chancellor, which he together with the Archbishop accomplished; but the University not being satisfied with him, he was obliged next year to quit his professorship and retire to London, where he died two or three years after. The divines of Oxford, and indeed all the first reformers, were in the same sentiments with those of Cambridge about the disputed points; Calvin's institutions being read publicly in the schools by appointment of the convocation, though perhaps they might not go the full length of the Lambeth articles, nor express themselves with the straightness of those who lived afterwards, when those doctrines had been publicly opposed by Arminius and his followers.

The article of our Saviour's local descent into hell began to be questioned at this time. It had been the received doctrine of the Church of England, that the soul of Christ being separated from his body, descended locally into hell, that he might there triumph over satan, as before he had over death and sin. But the learned Hugh Broughton, the rabbi of his age, whom King James would have courted into Scotland, convinced the world that the word *hades*, used by the greek fathers for the place into which Christ went after his crucifixion, did not mean hell, or the place of the damned, but only the state of the dead, or the invisible world. It was further debated, whether Christ underwent in his soul the wrath of God, and the pains of hell, and finished all his sufferings upon the cross before he died. This was Calvin's sentiment, and with him agreed the puritan divines, who preached it in their sermons, and inserted it in their catechisms. On the other hand, Bishop Bilson in his sermons at Paul's Cross maintained, that no text of scripture asserted the death of Christ's soul, or the pains of the damned to be requisite in the person of Christ before he could be our ransom, and the Saviour of the world. But still he maintained the local descent of Christ into hell; and that by the course of the creed the article must refer not to Christ living upon the cross, but to Christ dead; and that he went thither not to suffer, but to wrest the keys of hell and death out of the hands of the devil. When these ser-

mons were printed, they were presently answered by Mr. Jacob, a learned Brownist. Bilson, by the Queen's command, defended his sermons, in a treatise entitled, a survey of Christ's sufferings. The controversy was warmly debated in both universities; but when the learned combatants had spent their artillery it dropt in silence, without any determination from authority, though it was one of the articles usually objected to the puritans, for which they were suspended their ministry.

Among other reproaches cast upon their clergy, one was, that they deluded the people by claiming a power to exercise the devil. One would think there was a plot of some cunning, designing men, to conjure the people into the belief of the discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar principles of a weak and honest man, whose name was Darrel, and minister of Nottingham. This divine was of opinion, that by the power of prayer the devil might be cast out of persons possessed; and having tried the experiment upon one Darlin, a boy of about fourteen years old with supposed success, and upon some others, he was importuned by one of the ministers, and several inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, to visit one W. Somers, a boy that had such convulsive agonies, as were thought to be preternatural, insomuch that when Darrel had seen them, he concluded with the rest of the spectators that he was possessed, and advised his friends to desire the help of godly and learned ministers to endeavour his recovery, but excused himself from being concerned, lest if the devil should be dispossessed, the common people should attribute to him some special gift of casting out devils; but upon a second request from the mayor of Nottingham, he agreed with Mr. Aldridge and two other ministers, with about one hundred and fifty neighbouring christians, to set apart a day for fasting and prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young man from his torments; and after some time the Lord they say was entreated, and they blessed God for the same. A few days after, the mayor and some of the aldermen began to suspect that Somers was a cheat, and to make him confess, they took him from his parents

and committed him to the custody of two men, who with threatnings prevailed with him to acknowledge, that he had dissembled and counterfeited all he did. Upon this he was carried before the commission, where at first he owned himself a counterfeit, and then presently denied it again; but being thoroughly frightened, he fell into fits before the commissioners, which put an end to his examination for the present. After some time, being still in custody, he returned to his confessing, and charged Darrel with training him up in the art for four years. Upon this Darrel was summoned before the commissioners, and brought witnesses with him to prove, that Somers had declared in a very solemn manner that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the commission dissolved; but the affair making a great noise in the country, Darrel was sent for to Lambeth, and after a long hearing before the Archbishop, and others of the high commission, he was deposed from his ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gate-house, for being accessory to a vile imposture, where he continued many years. While Darrel was in the prison, he wrote an apology, to shew that people in these latter days may be possessed with devils; and that by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out. In the end of which he makes this protestation; "If I have confederated more or less with Somers, Darlin, or any of the rest; if ever I set eye on them before they were possessed, then let me not only be made a laughing-stock and a by-word to all men, but erase my name also out of the book of life, and let me have my portion with hypocrites."

It has been observed, that the Bishops had now wisely transferred the prosecution of the puritans from themselves to the temporal courts, so that instead of being summoned before the high commission, they were indicted at the assizes, and tried at common law; this being thought more adviseable, to take of the odium from the church. Judge Anderson discovered his zeal against them this summer in an extraordinary manner, for in his charge to the jury at Lincoln he told them, that the country was infested with Brownists, with disciplinaries and erectors of presbyteries; which he spoke with so much wrath,

with so many oaths, and such reviling language, as offended the gentlemen upon the bench. He called the preachers knaves, saying, that they would start up into the pulpit and speak against every body. He was for extending the statute of recusancy to such who went at any time to hear, sermons from their own parish churches, though they usually attended in their places, and heard divine service dutifully. When Lord Clinton and the deputy lieutenants, and justices of those parts, obtained the Bishop's allowance for a day of fasting and prayer at Lowth, upon an extraordinary occasion, his Lordship urged the jury to find a bill against them, upon the statute of conventicles.

Mr. Allen minister of that parish, being indicted by means of a revengeful justice of peace, for not reading all the prayers at once, was obliged to hold up his hand at the bar, when Judge Anderson standing up, spoke to him with a fierce countenance; and having insinuated some grievous faults against the man, called him oftentimes, knave, rebellious knave, with more such approbrious language, though it was known all over the country that Mr. Allen was a good preacher; that he had subscribed; was esteemed by the Bishop; was conformable in his affections; and behaved upon this occasion with all humility and submission. But his lordship had said in his charge, that he would hunt all the puritans out of his circuit. One thing was remarkable in Mr. Allen's arraignment, that when upon some point wherein judgment in divinity was required, Mr. Allen referred himself to the bishop (his ordinary then sitting upon the bench), the judge took him up with marvellous indignation, and said, he was both his ordinary and Bishop in that place.

Thus the puritan clergy were put upon a level with rogues and felons, and made to hold up their hands at the bar among the vilest criminals; there was hardly an assize in any county in England, but one or more ministers, through the resentments of some of their parishioners, appeared in this condition, to the disgrace of their order, and the loss of their reputation and usefulness; besides being exposed to the insults of the rude multitude.

Archbishop Whitgift was busy this summer about elections for the ensuing parliament. Strype says, his grace took what care he could to prevent such as were disaffected to the constitution of the church, that is, all puritans, from coming into the house; but some thought it a little out of character for an Archbishop to appear so publicly in the choice of the people's representatives. The house being thus modelled, did not meddle with the foundations of discipline, or form of public worship; but several bills were brought in to regulate abuse in spiritual courts. These and all other bills of this nature, were according to custom quashed by a message from the Queen, forbidding them to touch her prerogative; and assuring them, that she would take the grievances complained of into her princely consideration. Accordingly her Majesty referred these matters to the convocation; it being her steady maxim, not to proceed in affairs of the church by statutes, which the parliament alone could repeal, but rather by canons, which she could confirm or dispense with at pleasure. The convocation drew up some regulations relating to ecclesiastical courts, which the Queen confirmed by her letters patent.

But still the ecclesiastical courts were an insufferable grievance: the oppressions which people underwent from the bottomless deep of the canon law, put them upon removing their causes into Westminster-hall, by getting prohibitions to stay proceedings in the Bishops' courts, or in the high commission. This awakened the Archbishop, who in order to support the civilians, drew up certain queries to be considered by the lords and judges of the land touching prohibitions.

The Archbishop caused a list to be made of divers cases, wherein the christian court, as he called it, had been interrupted by the temporal jurisdiction; and of many causes that had been taken out of the hands of the Bishops' courts, the high commission, and the court of delegates; the former authorised by immediate commission from the Queen, and the latter by a special commission upon an appeal to her court of Chancery. But notwithstanding all these efforts of Whitgift and his successor Bancroft, the number of prohibitions increased

every year; the nobility, gentry, and judges, being too wise to subject their estates and liberties to a number of artful civilians, versed in laws of most uncertain authority, and strangers to the common and statute law, without the check of prohibition; when it was notorious, that the canon law had been always since the reformation controlled by the laws and statutes of the realm. Thus the civilians sunk in their business under the two next Archbishops, till Laud governed the church, who terrifying the judges from granting prohibitions, the Spiritual courts, Star-chamber, Council table, and high commissioners rode triumphant, fining, imprisoning, and banishing men at their pleasure, till they became as terrible as the Spanish inquisition, and brought upon the nation all the confusions and desolations of a civil war.

From this time to the Queen's death, there was a kind of cessation of arms between the church and puritans; the combatants were out of breath, or willing to wait for better times. Some apprehended that the puritans were vanquished, and their numbers lessened by the severe execution of the penal laws; whereas it will appear by a survey in the beginning of the next reign, that the non-conforming clergy were about fifteen hundred. But the reason was this, the Queen was advanced in years, and could not live long in the course of nature, and the next heir to the crown being a presbyterian, the Bishops were cautious of acting against a party for whom his Majesty had declared, not knowing what revenge he might take, when he was fixed on the throne; and the puritans were quiet in hope of the expected change.

Notwithstanding all former repulses from court, the Queen's last parliament renewed their attacks upon the ecclesiastical courts; a bill being brought in to examine into Bishops' leases, and to disable them from taking fines, another against pluralities and non-residents, and another against commissaries and Archdeacons' courts. Multitudes of complaints came to the house against the proceedings of the ordinaries *ex mero officio*, without due presentments preceding, and against the frequent keeping their courts, so that the church-wardens were sometimes cited

to two or three spiritual courts at once; complaint was made of their charging the country with quarterly bills; of the great number of apparitors, and petty summoners, who seized upon people for trifling offences; of the admission of curates by officials and commissaries, without the Bishops' knowledge, and without testimonials of their conversation; of scandalous commutations of penance, and divers abuses of the like kind; but the Queen would not suffer the house to debate them, referring them to the Archbishop, who wrote to his brethren the Bishops, to endeavour as much as possible to reform the above-mentioned grievances, which says he, have produced multitudes of complaints in parliament; and had they not been prevented by great circumspection, and promise of careful reformation, there might perhaps, have ensued the taking away of the whole, or most of those courts.

There was another bill brought into the house, to punish voluntary absence from the church; the forfeiture was to be twelve pence each Sunday, to be levied by distress, by a warrant from a justice of peace; but the bill was opposed, because there was a severe law already against recusants, of twenty pounds per month; and because, if this bill should pass, a justice of peace's house would like a quarter sessions, be crowded with a multitude of informers. It was likewise against *magna charta*, which entitles every man to be tried by his peers, whereas by this act, two witnesses before a justice of peace were sufficient. The bill however was engrossed, and being put to the question, it was lost.

This year died the learned William Perkins, born at Marston in Warwickshire, and educated in Christ's College Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several treatises in favour of those doctrines, which involved him in a controversy with Arminius then professor of divinity at Leyden, that continued to his death. He was a Puritan non-conformist, and a favourer of the discipline, for which he was once or twice before the high commission; but his peaceable behaviour, and great fame in the learned

world, procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his brethren. His works which were printed in three vols. folio, shew him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious divine, considering he lived only forty-four years.

To sum up the state of religion throughout this long reign. It is evident that the parliament, the people, and great numbers of the inferior clergy, were for carrying the reformation further than the present establishment. The first bishops came into it with this view; they declared against the popish habits and ceremonies, and promised to use all their interest with the Queen for their removal; but how soon they forgot themselves, the foregoing history has fully discovered. Most of the reformers were of crastian principles, looking upon the church as a mere creature of the state. They gave up every thing to the crown, and yielded to the supreme magistrate the absolute direction of the consciences, or at least of the religious profession of all his subjects. They acknowledged only two orders of clergy of divine institution, viz. bishops or priests, and deacons. They admitted the ordinations of foreign churches, by mere presbyters, till towards the middle of this reign, when their validity began to be disputed and denied. Whitgift was the first who defended the hierarchy, from the practice of the third, fourth and fifth centuries, when the Roman empire became christian; but Bancroft divided the Bishops from the priesthood, and advanced them into a superior order by divine right, with the sole power of ordination, and the keys of discipline; so that from this time there were reckoned three orders of clergy in the English hierarchy, viz. bishops, priests, and deacons. Thus the church advanced in her claims, and removed by degrees to a greater distance from the foreign protestants.

The controversy with the puritans had only a small beginning, viz. the imposing of the popish habits and a few indifferent ceremonies; but it opened by degrees into a reformation of discipline, which all confessed was wanting; and at last the doctrinal articles were debated. The Queen and the latter bishops would not part with a pin out of the hierarchy, nor leave a latitude in the most

trifling ceremonies, but insisted upon an exact uniformity both in doctrine and ceremonies, that all might unite in the public standard. The Puritans in their writings and conferences, attempted to shew the defects of the establishment from scripture, and from the earliest ages of the church; and what they suffered for it has been in part related; the suspensions and deprivations of this long reign amounting to several thousands; but when it appeared that nothing was to be abated, and that penal laws were multiplied and rigorously executed, they endeavoured to erect a sort of voluntary discipline within the church, for the ease and satisfaction of their own consciences being unwilling to separate; till at length the violence of persecution drove some of them into the extremes of Brownism, which divided the puritans, and gave rise to a new controversy, concerning the necessity of a separation from the established church, of which we shall hear more hereafter; but under all their hardships their loyalty to the Queen was untainted, and their behaviour peaceable; they addressed the Queen and parliament, and Bishops for relief, at sundry times; and remonstrated against the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual courts, making use of no other weapons but prayers and tears, attended with scripture and argument.

The chief principles of the Puritans have been already related. They were no enemies to the name or function of a Bishop, provided he was no more than a stated president of the college of presbyters in his diocese, and managed the affairs of it with their concurrence and assistance. They did not object against prescribed forms of prayer, provided a latitude was indulged the minister to alter or vary some expressions; and to make use of a prayer of his own conception before and after sermon. Nor had they an aversion to any decent and distinct habits for the clergy that were not derived from popery. But upon the whole, they were the most resolved protestants in the nation, zealous Calvinists, and warm and affectionate preachers.

It is not pretended that the Puritans were without their failings; no, they were men of like passions and infirmities with their adversaries; and while they endea-

voured to avoid one extreme, they might fall into another, their zeal for their platform of discipline, would I fear, have betrayed them into the imposition of it upon others, if it had been established by law. Their notions of the civil and religious rights of mankind were narrow and confused, and derived too much from the theocracy of the Jews, which was now at an end. Their behaviour was severe and rigid, far removed from the fashionable freedoms and vices of the age, and possibly they might be too censorious, in not making those distinctions between youth and age, grandeur and mere decency, as the nature and circumstances of things would admit; but with all their faults, they were the most pious and devout people in the land; men of prayer, both in secret and public, as well as in their families; their manner of devotion was fervent and solemn, depending on the assistance of the divine spirit, not only to teach them how to pray, but what to pray for as they ought. They had a profound reverence for the holy name of God, and were great enemies not only to profane swearing, but to foolish talking and jesting; they were strict observers of the christian sabbath or Lord's-day, spending the whole of it in acts of public and private devotion and charity. It was the distinguishing mark of a puritan in these times to see him going to church twice a day with his Bible under his arm. And while others were at plays and interludes, at revels, or walking in the fields, or at the diversions of bowling, fencing, &c. on the evening of the sabbath, these with their families were employed in reading the scriptures, singing psalms, catechising their children, repeating sermons and prayer. Nor was this only the work of the Lord's-day, but they had their hours of family devotion on the week days, esteeming it their duty to take care of the souls as well as bodies of their servants. They were circumspect to all the excesses of eating, drinking, apparel, and lawful diversions, being frugal in house-keeping, industrious in their particular callings, honest and exact in their dealings, and solicitous to give to every one his own. These were the people who were branded with the name of **PRECISIANS, PURITANS, SCHISMATICS, ENEMIES TO GOD AND THEIR COUNTRY**; and throughout the course of this reign underwent cruel mockings, bonds and imprisonment.

Practical religion was all this reign at a very low ebb; the greatest part of the clergy being barely capable of reading prayers and a homily. In the remoter counties and villages the people were either papists, or no better than heathens. If any among the clergy or laity were remarkably pious, strict observers of the sabbath, and declared enemies of profaneness, and popery, says Mr. Osburn, they were either real puritans, or branded with that invidious name; and great numbers of the inferior clergy and people in cities and corporations, were of this number. The conforming clergy lost ground: and the order of Bishops, by spending their zeal more about the external forms of worship, than in painful preaching and encouraging practical religion, grew into contempt; popery gained ground in the country, by the diligence of the missionaries, and the ignorance and laziness of the established clergy; whilst puritanism prevailed in cities and corporations. So that as Parker observed, the Queen was the only friend of the church; and supported it by a vigorous execution of the penal laws, and by resolving to admit of no motion for reformation, but what should arise from herself.

Thus things continued to the Queen's death: her Majesty was grown old and infirm, and under a visible decay of natural spirits, some say for the loss of the Earl of Essex, whom she had lately beheaded; but others, from a just indignation to see herself neglected by those who were too ready to worship the rising sun. This threw her into a melancholy, attended with a drowsiness, and heaviness in her limbs; which was followed with a loss of appetite, and all the marks of an approaching dissolution. Upon this she retired to Richmond; and having caused her inauguration ring, which was grown into the flesh, and become painful, to be filed off, she languished till the twenty-fourth of March, and then died, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

Elizabeth was a great and successful princess at home, and the support of the protestant interest abroad, while it was in its infancy; for without her assistance, neither the Hugonots in France, nor the Dutch reformers, could have stood their ground: she assisted the protestants of Scotland against their popish Queen, and the Princes of

Germany against the Emperor; whilst at the same time she demanded an absolute submission from her own subjects; and would not tolerate that religion at home, which she countenanced and supported abroad. As to her own religion, she affected a middle way between popery and puritanism, but her Majesty was more inclined to the former; disliking the secular pretensions of the court of Rome over foreign states, though she was in love with the pomp and splendour of their worship. On the other hand, she approved of the doctrines of the foreign reformed churches, but thought they had stripped religion too much of its ornaments, and made it look with an unfriendly aspect upon the sovereign power of princes. She understood not the rights of conscience in matters of religion; and is therefore justly chargeable with persecuting principles. More sanguinary laws were made in her reign, than in any of her predecessors: her hands were stained with the blood of papists and puritans; the former were executed for denying her supremacy, and the latter for sedition or non-conformity. Her greatest admirers blame her for plundering the church of its revenues, and for keeping several sees vacant many years together for the sake of their profits. The Queen was devout at prayers, yet seldom or never heard sermons except in Lent; and would often say, two or three preachers in a county were sufficient. She had high notions of the sovereign authority of princes, and of her own absolute supremacy in church affairs. And being of opinion that methods of severity were lawful to bring her subjects to an outward uniformity, she countenanced all the engines of persecution, and stretched her prerogative to support them beyond the laws, and against the sense of the nation. However notwithstanding all these blemishes, Queen Elizabeth stands upon record as a wise and politic princess, for delivering the kingdom from the difficulties in which it was involved at her accession; for preserving the protestant reformation against the potent attempts of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots and her popish subjects at home; and for advancing the renown of the English nation beyond any of her predecessors. Her Majesty held the balance of Europe, and was in high esteem with all foreign

princes, the greatest part of her reign; and though her protestant subjects were divided about church affairs, they all discovered a high veneration for her royal person and government; on which accounts she was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity:

PART II.

CHAP. I.

JAMES I.

The House of the Stuarts.—Behaviour of King James in Scotland.—Expectations of Puritans and Papists. Millenary Petitions.—Conference at Hampton Court.—Remarks.—Proclamation to enforce Conformity.—Mr. Cartwright's death.—Death of Archbishop Whitgift.—Proclamation against Jesuits and Puritans.—The King's Arbitrary Government.—Proceedings of Parliament and Convocation.—Abstract of the Book of Canons.—Persecution of the Puritans.—Retire to Holland.—The persecuted Brownists.—Lawfulness of separation from the Church of England.—Gun-Powder Plot.—Oath of Allegiance.—Puritans unwilling to separate from the Church.—Guernsey and Jersey reduced to Conformity.—Death and Character of Arminius.—Proceedings of Parliament in favour of Puritans.—Affairs of Scotland.—Archbishop Bancroft's Death and Character.

THE royal house of the STUARTS has not been more calamitous to the English church and nation, in the male descendents, than successful and glorious in the female: the four Kings of this line while in power, were declared enemies of our civil constitution; they governed without law, levied taxes by the prerogative, and endeavoured to put an end to the very being of parliament. With regard to religion; the two first were neither sound protestants nor good catholics, but were for reconciling the

two religions, and meeting the papists half way; but the two last went over entirely to the Church of Rome, and died professedly in her communion. The female branches of this family being married among foreign protestants, were of a different stamp, being more enclined to puritanism than popery; one of them, Mary, eldest daughter of Charles the first, was mother of WILLIAM the THIRD, the glorious deliverer of these kingdoms from popery and slavery; and another, Elizabeth, daughter of James the first, was grandmother of GEORGE the first, in whom the protestant succession took place, and whose numerous descendants in the person and off-spring of George the second, are the defence and glory of the whole protestant interest in Europe.

James was thirty-six years of age when he came to the English throne, having reigned in Scotland from his infancy. In 1589, he married the Princess Anne, sister to the King of Denmark, by whom he had three children living at this time, Henry, Prince of Wales, who died before he was nineteen years of age. Elizabeth married to the Elector Palatine, and Charles, who succeeded his father in his kingdoms. His Majesty's behaviour in Scotland raised the expectations and hopes of all parties; the puritans relied upon his education; upon his subscribing the solemn league and covenant; and upon various solemn repeated declarations; in particular, one made in the general assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, when standing with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be King of such a church, the purest kirk in the world. The church of Geneva, says he, keep Easter and Christmas, what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil; they say mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings, I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same." And upon his leaving Scotland, to take possession of the crown of England, he gave public thanks to God in the kirk of

Edinburgh, "That he had left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he intended not to alter any ways, his subjects living in peace." But that all this was Kingcraft, or else his Majesty changed his principles with the climate. The Scots ministers did not approach him with the distant submission and reverence of the English Bishops, and therefore within nine months after he ascended the throne of England, he renounced presbytery, and established it for a maxim, "*no bishop no king.*" So soon did this *pious* monarch renounce his principles, if he had any, and break through the most solemn vows and obligations ! When the long parliament addressed Charles the first, to set up presbytery in the room of episcopacy, his Majesty objected his coronation oath, in which he had sworn to maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges ; but James had no scruples of conscience ; for without so much as asking the consent of parliament, general assembly, or people, he entered upon the most effectual measures to subvert that kirk discipline, which with hands lifted up to heaven, he had sworn to maintain at his coronation, and had afterwards solemnly subscribed with his Queen and family.

The papists put the king in remembrance, that he was born of Roman catholic parents, and had been baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome ; that his mother, of whom he usually spoke with reverence, was a martyr for that church ; and that he himself, upon sundry occasions, had expressed no dislike to her doctrines, though he disallowed of the usurpations of the court of Rome over foreign princes ; that he had called the Church of Rome, his mother church ; and therefore they presumed to welcome his Majesty into England with a petition for an open toleration.

But the Bishops of the Church of England made the earliest application for his Majesty's protection and favour. As soon as the Queen was dead, Archbishop Whitgift sent the Dean of Canterbury, express into Scotland, in the name of all the bishops and clergy of England, to give his Majesty assurance of their unfeigned duty and loyalty ; to know what commands he had for them with respect to the ecclesiastical courts, and to recommend the Church of England, to his countenance and favour.

The King replied, that he would uphold the government of the church as the Queen left it, which comforted the timorous Archbishop, who had sometimes spoken with great uneasiness of the *Scotch mist*.

Upon his Majesty's arrival all parties addressed him, and among others the Dutch and French churches, and the English puritans; to the former his Majesty promised favour and protection; but the latter whatever they had reason to expect, met with very different usage. Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken to secure the elections of members for the next parliament; the Archbishop wished he might not live to see it, for fear of some alterations in the church; for the puritans were preparing petitions, and printing pamphlets in their own vindication, though by the Archbishop's vigilance, not a petition or pamphlet escaped without a speedy and effectual answer.

While the King was in his progress to London, the puritans presented their millenary petition, so called because it was said to be subscribed by a thousand hands, though there were not more than eight hundred out of twenty-five counties. It is entitled the humble petition of the ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the church. The King was presented with sundry other petitions of the like nature, from most of the counties he passed through; but the heads of the two Universities having taken offence at the millenary petition, for demising away the impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges, expressed their resentment in different ways: those of Cambridge passed a decree,—“That whosoever in the University should openly oppose by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England established by law, or any part thereof, should be suspended from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future.”—About the same time the University of Oxford published an answer to the ministers' petition, which abundantly displays the high spirit of the University; it reproaches the ministers in very severe language for subscribing, and then complaining; it reflects upon them as factious men, for

affecting a parity in the church, and then falls severely on the Scots reformation, which his Majesty had so publicly commended before he left that kingdom. It throws an odium upon the petitioners, as being for a limited monarchy, and for subjecting the titles of Kings to the approbation of the people. It then goes on to vindicate all the grievances complained of, and with beseeching his Majesty not to suffer the peace of the state to be disturbed, by allowing these men to disturb its polity. They then commend the present church government as the great support of the crown, and calculated to promote unlimited subjection; and aver,—“That there are at this day more learned men in this land, in this one kingdom, than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in France, Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Geneva, Scotland, or all Europe besides.”—Such a vain-glorious piece of self-applause is hardly to be met with. They must have a mean opinion of the King’s acquaintance with the learned world, to use him in this manner, at a time when though there were some very considerable divines among ourselves, there were as many learned men in the foreign Universities, as had been known since the reformation, whose works have transmitted their great names down to posterity.

And that the divines of Cambridge might not come behind their brethren of Oxford, the heads of that University wrote a letter of thanks to the Oxonians, for their answer to the petition, in which—“They applaud and commend their weighty arguments, and threaten to battle the puritans with numbers; for if Saul has his thousands, say they, David has his ten thousands.” A mean and pitiful triumph over honest and virtuous men, who aimed at nothing more than to bring the discipline of the church a little nearer the standard of scripture! But that his Majesty might part with his old friends with some decency, and seem to answer the request of the petitioners, he agreed to have a conference with the two parties at Hampton Court, for which purpose he published a proclamation, for their hearing and determining things pretended to be amiss in the church. In this proclamation he declares his determination to preserve the ecclesiastical

state in such form as he found it established by the law, only to reform such abuses as he should find apparently proved.

The Archbishop and his brethren had been indefatigable in possessing the king with the excellency of the English hierarchy, as coming near the practice of the primitive church, and best suited to a monarchical government; they represented the puritans as turbulent and factious, inconsiderable in number, and aiming at confusion both in church and state; and yet after all, the old Archbishop was doubtful of the event. The place of conference was the drawing room, within the privy chamber at Hampton Court; the disputants on both sides were nominated by the King. For the church, there were nine Bishops, and about as many dignitaries, viz. Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, Bishop of London. Matthew, Bishop of Durham, Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, Babington, Bishop of Worcester, Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, Watson. Bishop of Chichester, Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle, and Dove, Bishop of Peterborough. Andrews, Dean of the chapel, Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, Barlow, Dean of Chester, Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, Field, Dean of Gloucester, King, Archdeacon of Nottingham; besides the Deans of Worcester and Windsor.

For the puritans were only four ministers, Dr. J. Reynolds, Dr. T. Sparks, professors of divinity in Oxford, Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubs of Cambridge. The divines for the church appeared in the habits of their respective distinctions; but those for the puritans in fur gowns, like the Turkey merchants, or the professors in foreign Universities. When the King conferred with the Bishops he behaved with softness, and a great regard to their character; but when the puritan ministers stood before him, instead of being moderator, he took upon him the place of respondent, and bore them down with his majestic frowns and threatenings, in the midst of a numerous croud of courtiers, all the Lords of the council being present; while the Bishops stood by and were little more than spectators of the triumph. The conference continued three days, the first was with the Bishops and Deans alone, the puritan ministers not being present;

when the King made a speech in commendation of the hierarchy of the Church of England, and congratulated himself, that—"He was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a King, as formerly, without state; nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face, &c.

In the Common Prayer Book his Majesty had some scruples about the confirmation of children, as if it imported a confirmation of baptism. But the Archbishop on his knees replied, that the church did not hold baptism perfect without confirmation. Bancroft said it was of apostolical institution, Heb. vi. 2. where it is called, the doctrine of the laying on of hands. But to satisfy the King, it was agreed that the words examination of children should be added to confirmation. His Majesty excepted to the absolution of the church, as too nearly resembling the Pope's pardon. But the Archbishop is said to clear it up to the King's satisfaction, only to the rubric of the general absolution these words were to be added for explanation sake, remission of sins. He further objected to private baptism, and baptism by women. It had been customary till this time for Bishops to licence midwives to their office, and to allow their right to baptize in cases of necessity, under an oath.

But notwithstanding the oath, Whitgift assured the King, that baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed by the church. Others said it was a reasonable practice, the minister not being of the essence of the sacrament. But the King not being satisfied, it was referred to consideration, whether the word curate or lawful minister, might not be inserted into the rubric for private baptism. Concerning excommunication for lesser crimes in ecclesiastical courts, it was agreed, that the name should be changed, but the same censure retained, or an equivalent thereunto appointed. These were all the alterations that were agreed upon between the King and Bishops, in the first day's conference.

Mr. Galloway, who was present at the conference, gives this account of it to the presbytery of Edinburgh "That on January 12th, the King commanded the Bishops,

as they would answer it to God in conscience, and to himself upon their obedience, to advise among themselves, of the corruptions of the church in doctrine, ceremonies and discipline; who after consultation reported, that all was well; but when his Majesty with great fervency brought instances to the contrary, the Bishops on their knees craved with great earnestness, that nothing might be altered, lest popish recusants punished by penal statutes for their disobedience, and the puritans punished by deprivation from their callings and livings for non-conformity, should say, they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travailed to bind them to that which by their own mouths now was confessed to be erroneous." Mr. Strype calls this an aspersion; but I am apt to think him mistaken, because Mr. Galloway adds, "When sundry persons gave out copies of these actions, I myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye-witness to set them down, and presented them to his Majesty, who with his own hand mended some things, and eked others that I had omitted."—It is very certain, that Bishop Barlow, in the account he published of the conference, and of which he repented on his death-bed, has cut off and concealed all the speeches that his Majesty made against the corruptions of the church, and the practices of the prelates, for five hours together, according to the testimony of Andrews, Dean of the chapel, who said, that his Majesty did that day wonderfully play the puritan.

The second day's conference, when the four ministers were called in, with Mr. Galloway minister of Perth on the one part, and two Bishops and six or eight Deans on the other, the rest being secluded. The King being seated in his chair, with his nobles and privy counsellors around him, let them know, he was now ready to hear their objections against the establishment. Whereupon Dr. Raynolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly requested. 1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserved pure, according to God's word. 2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches, to preach in the same. 3. That the book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety. 4. That church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's word.—With

regard to the doctrine of the church he requested, that to those words in the sixteenth article, we may depart from grace, may be added, neither totally nor finally; to make them consistent with the doctrine of predestination in the seventeenth article; and that the nine articles of Lambeth be inserted. That in the twenty-third article these words, in the congregation, might be omitted, as implying a liberty for men to preach out of the congregation without a lawful call. That in the twenty-fifth article the ground for confirmation might be examined; one passage confessing it to be a depraved imitation of the apostles, and another grounding it on their example; besides, that it was too much work for a Bishop.

Here Bancroft no longer able to contain himself, falling upon his knees, begged the King with great earnestness to stop the doctor's mouth, according to an ancient canon, that schismatics are not to be heard against their Bishops. It is not reasonable, says he, that men who have subscribed to these articles, should be allowed to plead against their own act, contrary to the statute 1st Eliz. The King perceiving the bishop in a heat, said, My Lord, You ought not to interrupt the doctor, but either let him proceed, or answer what he has objected. Whereupon he replied,—“That as to Dr. Raynold's first objection, the doctrine of predestination was a desperate doctrine; and had made many people libertines, who are apt to say, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; he therefore desired it might be left at large. That his second objection was trifling, because by the practice of the church, none but licensed ministers might preach or administer the sacrament. And as to the doctor's third objection he said, that the Bishops had their chaplains and curates to examine such as were to be confirmed; and that in ancient time, none confirmed but Bishops.”—To which Raynolds replied in the words of St. Jerom, that it was rather a compliment to the order, than from any reason or necessity of the thing. And whereas the Bishop had called him a schismatic, he desired his Majesty, that that imputation might not lie upon him; which occasioned a great deal of mirth and raillery between the King and his nobles about the unhappy

puritans! In conclusion the King said, he was against increasing the number of articles, or stuffing them with theological niceties; because were they never to explicit, there will be no preventing contrary opinions. As to confirmation, he thought it not decent to refer the solemnity to a parish priest, and closed his remarks with this maxim, **NO BISHOP, NO KING.**

After a long interruption the doctor proceeded, and desired a new catechism; to which the King consented provided there might be no curious questions in it, and that our agreement with the Roman catholics in some points might not be esteemed heterodoxy. He further desired a new translation of the Bible, to which his Majesty agreed, provided it were without marginal notes, saying, that of all the translations, the Geneva was the worst, because of the marginal notes, which allowed disobedience to Kings. The doctor complained of the printing and dispersing popish pamphlets, which reflecting on Baneroft's character, the King said, what was done of this kind was by warrant from the court, to nourish the schism between the seculars and jesuits, which was of great service. Doctor, you are a better college-man, than statesman. To which Raynolds replied, that he did not intend such books as were printed in England, but such as were imported from beyond sea; and this several of the privy-council owned to be a grievance. The doctor having prayed that some effectual remedy might be provided against the profanation of the Lord's day, declared he had no more to add on the first head.

2. With regard to preaching, the doctor complained of pluralities in the church; and prayed that all parishes might be furnished with preaching ministers. Upon which Baneroft fell upon his knees, and petitioned his Majesty, that all parishes might have a praying ministry, for preaching is grown so much in fashion, says he, that the service of the church is neglected. Besides pulpit harangues are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved, that the number of homilies might be increased, and that the clergy might be obliged to read them instead of sermons, in which many vented their spleen against their superiors. The King asked the plaintiffs their

opinion of the Bishop's motion: who replied, that a preaching ministry was certainly best and most useful, though they allowed, where preaching could not be had, godly prayers, homilies, and exhortations, might do much good. The Lord chancellor said, there were more livings that wanted learned men, then learned men livings; let all therefore have single coats, before others have doublets. Upon which Bancroft replied merrily, that a doublet is good in cold weather. The King put an end to the debate, by saying he would consult the Bishops upon this head.

3. But the doctor's chief objections were to the service book and church-government: here he complained of the late subscriptions, whereby many were deprived of their ministry, who were willing to subscribe to the doctrinal articles of the church, to the King's supremacy, and to the statutes of the realm. He excepted to the reading the apocrypha; to the interrogatories in baptism, and to the sign of the cross; to the surplice, and other superstitious habits; to the ring in marriage; to the churching of women by the name of purification. He urged, that most of these things were reliques of popery; that they had been abused to idolatry, and therefore ought, like the brazen serpent, to be abolished. Mr. Knewstubs said, these rites and ceremonies were at best, indifferent, and therefore doubted, whether the power of the church could bind the conscience without impeaching christian liberty. Here his Majesty interrupted them, and said, that he apprehended the surplice to be a very comely garment; that the cross was as old as Constantine, and must we charge him with popery? Besides it was no more a significant sign than imposition of hands, which the petitioners allowed in ordination; and as for their other exceptions, they were capable of being understood in a sober sense; "But as to the power of the church in things indifferent, says his Majesty, I will not argue that point with you, but answer as Kings in parliament, *le Roi s'avisera*. This is like Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me the last conference in Scotland, that he would hold conformity with me in doctrine, but that every man as to ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty: but I

will have none of that ; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

4. Raynolds was going on, to complain of excommunication by lay-chancellors ; but the King having said he should consult the Bishops on that head, the doctor desired that the clergy might have assemblies once in three weeks ; that in rural deanries they might have the liberty of prophesyings, as in Archbishop Grindal's time ; that those cases which could not be resolved there, might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation, and from thence to the diocesan synod, where the Bishop with his presbyters should determine such points as were too difficult for the other meetings ;—Here the King broke out into a flame, and instead of hearing the doctor's reasons, or commanding the Bishop to answer them, told the ministers, that he found they were aiming at a Scots presbytery,—“ which, says he, agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil ; then Jack, and Tom, Will, and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure both me any my council. Therefore pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps, hearken to you ; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath ; but till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they used the poor lady, my mother in Scotland, and me in my minority.” Then turning to the Bishops, he put his hand to his hat and said,—“ My Lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy, for *no Bishop no King*. Well, doctor, have you any thing else to offer ?” The doctor replied in the negative, and the King then rising from his chair, said,—“ If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of this land, or else worse ;” and he was as good as his word.

Thus ended the second day's conference, after four hours discourse, with a perfect triumph on the side of the church ; the puritan ministers were insulted, ridiculed,

and laughed to scorn, without either wit or good manners : one of the council said, he now saw that a puritan was a protestant frightened out of his wits. Another, that the ministers looked more like Turks than Christians, as appeared by their habits. Sir Edward Peyton confessed, that Dr. Reynolds and his brethren had not freedom of speech ; but finding it to no purpose to reply they held their peace. On the other hand, the bishops and courtiers flattered the King's wisdom and learning beyond measure, calling him the Solomon of the age. Bancroft fell upon his knees, and said, " I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a King, as since Christ's time has not been." Chancellor Egerton said, he had never seen the King and priest so fully united in one person. His Majesty was no less satisfied with his own conduct ; for in his letter to Mr. Blake, a Scotsman, he told him, that he had soundly peppered off the puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their petitions had turned him more earnestly against them. " It were no reason, says his Majesty, that those who refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism, should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, that I was forced to tell them, that if any of them, when boys, had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied the rod to their backs. I have a book of theirs that may convert infidels, but shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them." This was the language of the Solomon of the age. I leave the reader to judge, how much superior this wise monarch was in the knowledge of antiquity, or the art of syllogism to Dr. Reynolds, who was the oracle of his time for acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history, councils and fathers, and had lived in a college all his days.

The third day's conference, the bishops and deans were first called into the privy chamber with the civilians, to satisfy the King about the high commission and the oath *ex officio*, which they might easily do, as being principal branches of his prerogative. When the King said he

approved of the wisdom* of the law in making the oath *ex officio*, the old Archbishop was so transported as to cry out, "undoubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit." A committee of Bishops and privy counsellors was then appointed to consider of lessening the charges in the high commission, and for planting schools, and proper ministers in the kingdom of Ireland and on the borders of England and Scotland. After which Raynolds and his brethren were called in, not to dispute, but only to hear the few alterations or explanations in the Common Prayer Book already mentioned; which not answering their expectations, Mr. Chadderton fell on his knees. and humbly prayed, that the surplice and cross might not be urged on some godly ministers in Lancashire; and Mr. Knewstubs desired the same favour for some Suffolk ministers; which the Bishops were going to oppose, but the King replied with a stern countenance "We have taken pains here to conclude in a resolution for uniformity, and you will undo all by preferring the credit of a few private men to the peace of the church; this is the Scots way, but I will have none of this arguing; therefore let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it; the bishops will give them some time, but if any are of an obstinate and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to conformity."

Thus ended the MOCK CONFERENCE, for it deserved no better name, all things being previously concluded between the King and the Bishops, before the puritans were brought upon the stage, to be made a spectacle to their enemies, and born down, not with calm reason and argument, but with the royal authority, I approve, or I discent; the King making himself both judge and party. No wonder therefore, if Dr. Raynolds fell below himself, and lost some part of his esteem with the puritans, being over-awed by the place and company, and the arbitrary dictates of his sovereign opponent. The puritans refused to be concluded by this conference, because the ministers were not of their choosing, nor of one judgment in the points of controversy; because the points in controversy were not thoroughly debated; because the prelates interrupted at their pleasure those of

the other side; that they were checked by the King himself, and that the prelates only were present at the first day's conference, when the principal matters were determined. "Therefore they offered, if his Majesty would give them leave in one week's space to deliver his majesty in writing, a full answer to any argument or assertion propounded in that conference by any prelate; and in the mean time they averred them to be most vain and frivolous."

If the Bishops had been men of moderation, or if the King had discovered any part of that wisdom he was flattered with, all parties might have been made easy at this time; for the Bishops in such a crisis would have complied with any thing his Majesty had insisted on; but the King's cowardice, his love of flattery, his high and arbitrary principles, and his mortal hatred of the puritans, lost one of the fairest opportunities that had ever offered, of healing the divisions of the church.

On the 5th of March the King published a proclamation, in which he says, "That though the doctrine and discipline of the established church were unexceptionable, and agreeable to primitive antiquity, nevertheless he had given way to a conference, to hear the exceptions of the non-conformists, which he had found very slender; but that some few explanations of passages had been yielded to for their satisfaction, therefore now he requires and enjoins all his subjects to conform to it, as the only public form established in this realm; and admonishes them not to expect any further alterations, for that his resolutions were absolutely settled. It was a high strain of the prerogative, to alter a form of worship established by law, merely by a royal proclamation, without consent of parliament or convocation, for by the same power that his Majesty altered one article in the liturgy, he might set aside the whole; every sentence being equally established by act of parliament; but this wise monarch made no scruple of dispensing with the laws. However the force of all proclamations determined with the King's life, and there being no subsequent act of parliament to establish these amendments, it was argued very justly in the next reign, that this was not the liturgy of the church of

England established by law, and consequently not binding upon the clergy.

A fortnight before this conference was held, died the learned Thomas Cartwright, one of the chief of the puritans, and a great sufferer for non-conformity. He was born in Hertfordshire, and entered into St. John's college, Cambridge, where he became a hard student, never sleeping above five hours in a night. During the reign of Mary he left the university, and became a lawyer's clerk; but upon the accession of Elizabeth he resumed his theological studies, and was chose fellow of Trinity College. The year after he bore a part in the philosophy act before the Queen. In 1567, he commenced batchelor of divinity, and three years after was chosen Lady Margaret's professor. He was such a popular preacher, that when his turn came to preach at St. Mary's, the sexton was obliged to take down the windows. But Mr. Cartwright venturing in some of his lectures to shew the defects of the discipline of the church, as it then stood, was questioned for it before the vice-chancellor, denied his doctor's degree, and expelled the university, as has been related. He then travelled to Geneva, and afterwards became preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp. King James invited him to be professor in his university of St. Andrews, which he declined. After his return from Antwerp he was often in trouble by suspensions, deprivations, and long imprisonment; at length the great Earl of Leicester, who knew his worth, made him governor of his hospital in Warwick, where he ended his days. He was certainly one of the most learned and acute disputants of his age, but very ill used by the governing clergy. He wrote several books, besides his controversy with Archbishop Whitgift, as his Latin comment on Ecclesiastes, dedicated to King James, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed professor to a Scots university; his celebrated confutation of the Rhemish translation of the New Testament, &c. which work he was solicited by the principle divines of Cambridge. Such an opinion had these great men of his abilities and learning. He was a person of uncommon industry and piety, fervent in prayer; a frequent preacher and of a meek and humble spirit. In his old age he was

so troubled with the stone and gout by frequent lying in prisons, that he was obliged always to study on his knees. His last sermon was on Eccles. xii. 7. "Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." The Tuesday following he was two hours on his knee in private prayer, and a few hours after quietly resigned his spirit to God.

Six weeks after him, died his great antagonist John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; who was born at Great Grimsby, and educated in Pembroke-hall, and was fellow of Peter-house, Cambridge. He complied with the changes in Mary's reign, though he disapproved of her religion.

Having been a celebrated champion for the hierarchy, the Queen had advanced him first to the Bishopric of Worcester, and then to the province of Canterbury. He was a severe governor of the church, pressing conformity with the utmost rigor, in which her Majesty always gave him her countenance and support. He regarded neither the entreaties of poor ministers, nor the intercessions of courtiers, being steady to the laws, and even out-going them in the cause of uniformity. He would give fair words and good language, but would abate nothing. Choler was his chief infirmity; which has sufficiently appeared by the account already given of the many persecutions, oppressions, and unjustifiable hardships the puritans suffered under his administration; notwithstanding which they increased prodigiously, insomuch that towards the latter end of his life, his grace grew weary of the invidious employment; and being afraid of King James's first parliament, died with grief before it met, desiring rather to give an account of his Bishopric to God, than exercise it among men. He had been at court the first Sunday in Lent, and as he was going to the council-chamber to dinner, was seized with the dead palsy on the right side, and with the loss of his speech; upon which he was carried first to the lord treasurer's chamber, and then to Lambeth, where the King visited him, but not being able to converse, he lifted up his eyes and hand, and said *pro ecclesia Dei*, which were his last words. He would have wrote something, but could not hold his pen. His disease increasing,

he presently expired in the 73d year of his age, and was buried at Croydon, where he has a fair monument, with his effigies at length upon it. He was an hospitable man, and usually travelled with a great retinue; in 1589. he came into Canterbury with a train of five hundred horse, of which one hundred were his own servants. He founded an hospital and free school at Croydon, and though he was a cruel persecutor of the puritans, yet compared with his successor Bancroft, he was a valuable prelate.

Before the meeting of the parliament the King issued two proclamations, one commanding all jesuits and priests in orders to depart the kingdom, wherein he was very careful to let the world know, that he did not banish them out of hatred to the catholic religion; but only for maintaining the pope's temporal power over princes. The other was against the puritans, in which there was no indulgences for tender consciences, all must conform, or suffer the extremities of the law. The King opened his first session of parliament with a long speech, in which there are many strokes in favour of tyranny and arbitrary power. His Majesty acknowledges the Roman church to be "his mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions. That his mind was ever free from persecutions for matters of conscience, as he hopes those of that religion have proved since his first coming. He pities the laity among them, and would indulge their clergy if they would but renounce the pope's supremacy, and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of Kings. He wishes that he might be a means of uniting the two religions, for if they would abandon their late corruptions, he would meet them in the mid way, as having a great veneration for antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical policy. But then as to the puritans or novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and purity; those, says he, are discontented with the present church government; they are impatient to suffer any superiority, which makes their sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."

The Bishops and their adherents were pleased with this speech, because the King resolved not to indulge

the puritans at any rate; the catholics did not like his Majesty's distinction between the laics and clerics; but the puritans had most reason to complain, to see so much charity expressed towards the papists, and so little for themselves. All protestants in general heard with concern the King's offer to meet the papists half-way. What does he mean? say they; is there no difference between popery and protestantism, except the pope's authority over princess? Are all other doctrines to be given up? Are the religions the same; And is this the only point upon which we separated from the church of Rome? Thus unhappily did this pretended protestant prince set out, with laying the foundation of discontent among all ranks of his people.

His Majesty made frequent mention in his speech, of his hereditary right to the crown, and of his lineal descent; that he was accountable to none but God; and that the only difference between a rightful King and a tyrant is, that the "one is ordained for preserving the prosperity of his people, the other thinks his kingdom and people are ordained to satisfy his unreasonable appetites." Further, his Majesty altered the writs for electing members, and took upon him to describe, what sort of representatives should be elected, not by way of exhortation but of command, and as indispensable conditions of their being admitted into the house, and which were to be judged of and determined in the court of Chancery. He threatened to fine and disfranchise those corporations that did not chose to his mind, and to fine and imprison their representatives if they presumed to sit in the house. When the house of commons met, he interrupted their examinations of elections, and commanded the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, whose election they had set aside, to be brought before him and his judges, Most of those who approached his person laboured to inspire him with a design of making him absolute; or rather to confirm him in that resolution. The Bishops were of this number; and from this time there has appeared among the clergy a party of men, who have carried the obedience of the subject, and the authority of the crown, as high as in the most arbitrary monarchies.

But though the court and Bishops were so well agreed, the parliament passed some acts which gave them uneasiness ; as the revival of the statute of Edward Sixth, which enacts, that all processes, citations, judgments, &c. in any ecclesiastical courts, shall be issued in the King's name, and under the King's seal of arms. The Bishops were said to be asleep when they suffered this clause to pass ; but the Laudean clergy broke through it afterwards, as they did through every thing else that stood in the way of their sovereignty. It was farther enacted, that all leases or grants of church lands to the King, or his heirs, &c. for more than twenty-one years for the future, should be made void ; which put an effectual stop to the alienation of the church's revenues. The marriages of the clergy were also legitimated, by reviving the statute of Edward Sixth, for that purpose.

The convocation which sat with the parliament was very active against the puritans. The see of Canterbury being vacant, Bancroft, Bishop of London presided, and produced the King's licence to make canons : he delivered a book of canons of his own preparing to the lower house for their approbation. About the same time Messrs. Egerton, Fleetwood, Clark, and other puritan divines, presented a petition for reformation of the book of common prayer ; but instead of receiving it, they admonished them and their adherents to be obedient and conform before Midsummer-day, or else they should undergo the censures of the church. In the mean time the canons were revising. May 23d, there was a debate in the upper house upon the cross in baptism, when Bancroft and some others spoke vehemently for it ; but Dr. Rud, Bishop of St. David's, stood up, and made a speech replete with sentiments of charity and moderation towards the persecuted puritans, whom he was ashamed to see driven to oblivion, and bitter distress, by the merciless spirit of his bigotted brethren.

The Bishops of London, &c. answered the Bishop of St. David, but when his lordship would have replied, *he was forbid by the president, and submitted*, affirming that as nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the church, he was determined to use the best means he could

to draw others to unity and conformity with himself, and the rest of his brethren. And thus the debate ended.

The book of Canons found an easy passage through both houses of convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the King's letters patent under his great seal, but not being confirmed by act of parliament, it has several times been adjudged in the courts of Westminster-hall, that they bind only the clergy, the laity not being represented in convocation. The book contains one hundred and forty-one articles, collected out of the injunctions, and other episcopal and synodical acts of the reigns of Edward Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth, and are the same that are now in force. By these we discern the spirit of the church at this time, and how freely she dispensed her anathema's against those who attempted a further reformation. The canons relating to the puritans deserve a particular mention, because they suffered severely under them. These canons ordain that whosoever shall affirm, that the church of England is not apostolical; that the worship of the church is corrupt, superstitious, and unlawful, or contains ANY THING repugnant to scripture; that ANY of the thirty-nine articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous; that the rites and ceremonies of the church are anti-christian and superstitious; that the government of the church is repugnant to the word of God; that the form of consecrating Bishops, priests or deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the word of God, &c.; that all such of the established hierarchy should be excommunicated and not restored but by the Archbishop, after repentance and public revocation of their wicked error.

Canon IX. Whosoever shall separate from the communion of the church of England, and combine together in a new brotherhood, calling themselves true and lawful churches, and assuming a right to make rules for church government without the King's authority, and publish, that their pretended church has groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed on them by the church of England, let them be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, and not restored.

They who are acquainted with the terrible conse-

quences of an excommunication in the spiritual courts, must be sensible of the new hardships put upon the puritans by these canons; suspensions and deprivations from their livings, were not now thought sufficient punishments for the sin of non-conformity; but the puritans both clergy and laity, must be turned out of the congregation of the faithful: they must be rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts; they must be imprisoned for life by process out of the civil courts, or untill they make satisfaction to the church; and when they die, they must be denied christian burial; and so far as lies in the power of the court, be excluded the kingdom of heaven. O uncharitableness! papists excommunicate protestants, because by renouncing the catholic faith they apprehend them guilty of heresy; but for protestants of the same faith to excommunicate their fellow-christians and subjects, and deprive them of their liberties, properties, and estates, for a few ceremonies, or because they have not the same veneration for the ecclesiastical constitution with themselves, is hardly to be paralleled in the annals of barbarity.

The King in his ratification of these canons, commands them to be diligently observed and executed; and for the better observation of the same, that every parish minister shall read them over once every year in his church, on a Sunday or holiday, before divine service; and all Archbishops, Bishops, and others, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are commanded to see them put in execution, and not spare to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned on those that wilfully break or neglect them. I shall leave the reader to make his own comment on the proceeding of this synod, only observing, that after they had finished their decrees, they were prorogued, when Dr. Overal being prolocutor, they gave the King four subsidies, but did no more church business till the time of their dissolution.

Bancroft, Bishop of London, being translated to the see of Canterbury, was succeeded by Vaughan, Bishop of Chester; upon his advancement the Dutch and French ministers within his diocese, presented him with an address for his protection and favour, which his Lordship declared

himself ready to grant. Thus the foreign churches enjoyed liberty and peace, while his Majesty's own subjects, of the same faith and discipline with them, were harrassed out of the kingdom. Bancroft was a divine of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the prerogative and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his country. He was for advancing the prerogative above law, and for enlarging the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, by advising his Majesty to take from the courts of Westminster-hall to himself, the whole right of granting prohibitions; for this purpose he framed twenty-five grievances of the clergy, and presented them to the King for his approbation; but the judges having declared them to be contrary to law, they were set aside. His grace revived the persecution of the puritans; enforcing the strict observance of all the festivals of the church; reviving the use of copes, surplices, caps, hoods, &c. obliging the clergy to subscribe over again to the three articles of Whitgift, which by the 36th canon, they were to declare they did *willingly and from the heart*. By these methods of severity above three hundred ministers were silenced or deprived; some of whom were excommunicated and cast into prison, others were forced to leave their native country and go into banishment, to preserve their consciences.

To countenance and support the Archbishops proceedings the King summoned the twelve judges into the star-chamber, and demanded their judgments upon three questions; there were present the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and about twelve lords of the privy council. The lord chancellor opened the assembly with a sharp speech against the puritans, as disturbers of the peace, declaring that the King intended to suppress them, by having the laws put in execution; and then demanded in his Majesty's name the opinion of the judges, by whose determinations the whole body of the clergy are excluded the benefit of the common and statute law: for the King without parliament may make what constitutions he pleases: His Majesty's high commissioners may proceed upon these constitutions *ex officio*, and the subject may not open his complaints to the King, or petition for relief,

without being fineable at pleasure, and coming within danger of treason or felony.

Before the breaking up of the assembly some of the lords declared, that the puritans had raised a false rumour of the King, as intended to grant a toleration, to papists; which offence the judges conceived to be heinously fineable by the rules of common law, either in the Bench, or by the King in council: or now, since the statute of 3 Hen. VII. in the Star Chamber. And the lords severally declared, that the King was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a protestation to them, that he never intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world. The reader will remember this solemn protestation hereafter. After these determinations the Archbishop resumed fresh courage, and pursued the puritans without the least compassion. A more grievous persecution is not to be met with in any prince's reign.

The whole clergy of London being summoned to Lambeth, in order to subscribe over again, many absconded, and such numbers refused, that the church was in danger of being disfurnished, which awakened the court, who had been told that the non-conformists were an inconsiderable body of men. Upon this surprising appearance, the Bishops were obliged to relax the rigor of the canons for a while; and to accept of a promise from some, to use the cross and surplice; from others to use the surplice only; and from others a verbal promise, that they might be used, not obliging themselves to the use of them at all; the design of which was to serve the church by them at present, till the universities could supply them with new men; for they had a strict eye upon those seminaries of learning, and would admit no young scholar into orders, without a full and absolute subscription to all the articles and canons.

The puritans who separated from the church, or inclined that way, were treated with yet greater rigor. Mr. Mounsey, minister of Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant

of that town, were imprisoned by the high commission, for a supposed conventicle, because that on the Lord's day after sermon, they joined with Mr. Jackler their late minister, in repeating the heads of the sermon preached that day in the church. Mr. Lad was obliged to answer upon oath certain articles, without being able to obtain a sight of them before hand; and after he had answered before the chancellor, was cited up to Lambeth, to answer them again before the high commissioners upon a new oath, which he refusing, without a sight of his former answer, was thrown into prison, where he continued a long time, without being admitted to bail. Mr. Mounsel the minister was charged further, with signing a complaint to the lower house of parliament. and for refusing the oath *ex officio*, for which he also was shut up in prison without bail. At length being brought to the bar upon a writ of Habeas Corpus; and having prevailed with Nic. Fuller, Esq. a bencher of Gray's-Inn, and a learned man in his profession, to be their counsel: he moved, that the prisoners might be discharged, because the high commissioners were not empowered by law to imprison, or to administer the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his Majesty's subjects. This was reckoned an unpardonable crime, and instead of serving his clients, brought the indignation of the commissioners upon himself. Bancroft told the King, that he was the champion of the non-conformists, and ought therefore to be made an example, to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly he was shut up in close prison, from whence neither the intercession of his friends, nor his own most humble petitions, could obtain his release to the day of his death.

This high abuse of the church power obliged many learned ministers and their followers to leave the kingdom, and retire to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other places of the Low countries, where English churches were erected after the presbyterian model, and maintained by the states according to treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. Besides, the English being yet in possession of the cautionary towns, many went over as chaplains to regiments, which together

with the merchants that resided in trading cities, made a considerable body.

But the greatest number of those who left their native country for religion were Brownists, or rigid separatists, of whom Messrs. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith and Robinson, were the leaders, Mr. Johnson erected a church at Amsterdam, after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr. Ainsworth for teacher. These two published to the world a confession of faith of the people called Brownists, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confessions; but being men of warm spirits, they fell to pieces about points of discipline; Johnson excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the meditation of the presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the congregation, in-somuch that Mr. Ainsworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnson, who after some time returned the same compliment to Ainsworth. At length the contest grew so hot, that Amsterdam could not hold them; Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where he soon after dying, his congregation dissolved. Nor did Mr. Ainsworth and his followers live long in peace: upon which he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued some time, but when the spirits of his people were quieted, he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them to his death. This Mr. Ainsworth was author of an excellent little treatise, entitled “an arrow against idolatry, and of a most learned commentary on the five books of Moses, by which he appears to have been a great master of the oriental languages and of jewish antiquities. His death was sudden, and not without suspicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam he advertised it in print, and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his rabbies upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messias, which the other promised; but not having interest enough to obtain it, and Ainsworth being resolute, it was thought he was poisoned. His con-

gregation remained without a pastor for some years after his death, and then chose Mr. Canne, author of the marginal references to the Bible, and sundry other treatises.

Mr. Smith was a learned man, of good abilities, but of an unsettled head, as appears by the preface to one of his books, in which he desires that his last writings may always be taken for his present judgment. He was for refining upon the Brownists' scheme, and at last declared for the principles of the baptists; upon this he left Amsterdam and settled with his disciples at Ley; where being at a loss for a proper administrator of the ordinance of baptism, he plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of a *se Baptist*. He afterwards embraced the tenets of Arminius, and published certain conclusions upon those points, which Mr. Robinson answered, but Smith died soon after, and his congregation dissolved.

Mr. Rawlinson was a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, where being often molested by the Bishop's officers, and his friends almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts, he removed to Leyden, and erected a congregation upon the model of the Brownists. He set out upon the most rigid principles, but by conversing with Dr. Ames, and other learned men, became more moderate; and though he always maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from those reformed churches among whom he lived, yet he did not deny them to be true churches, and admitted their members to occasional communion, allowing his own to join with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word, but not in the sacraments and discipline; which gained him the character of a *semi-separatist*.

Mr. Jacob was born in Kent, and educated in St. Mary Hall, where he took the degrees in arts, entered into holy orders, and became presentor of Christ Church College, and afterwards beneficed in his own country at Cheriton. He was a person thoroughly versed in theological authors, but withal a most zealous puritan. He wrote two treatises against Johnson the Brownist, in defence of the Church of England's being a true church, and afterwards published Reasons taken out of God's

word, and best human testimonies, proving a necessity of reforming our churches of England, &c. but going to Leyden, and conversing with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his sentiments of discipline and government, and transplanted them into England as will be seen in its proper place.

This difference among the puritans engaged them in a warm controversy among themselves, about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the Church of England, while the conforming clergy stood by as spectators of the combat. Most of the puritans were for keeping within the pale of the church, apprehending it to be a true church in its doctrines and sacraments, though defective in discipline, and corrupt in ceremonies, yet being a true church they thought it lawful to separate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good conscience. They submitted to suspensions and deprivations, and when they were driven out of one diocese took sanctuary in another, being afraid of incurring the guilt of schism by forming themselves into separate communions. Whereas the Brownists maintained, that the Church of England, in its present constitution, was no true church of Christ, but a limb of antichrist, or at best a mere creature of the state; that their ministers were not rightly called and ordained, nor the sacraments duly administered; or supposing it to be a true church, yet as it was owned by their adversaries, the conforming puritans, to be a very corrupt one, it must be as lawful to separate from it, as for the Church of England to separate from Rome. The conforming puritans evaded this consequence, by denying the Church of Rome to be a true church; nay affirming it to be the very anti-christ; but the argument remained in full force against the Bishops, and that part of the clergy who acknowledged the Church of Rome to be a true church.

It is certainly as lawful to separate from the corruptions of one church as of another; and it may be necessary to do so, when those corruptions are imposed as terms of communion. Let us hear Archbishop Laud, in his conference with the jesuit Fisher.—“Another church, says his grace, may separate from Rome, if Rome will separate from Christ, and so far as it separates from him, and the faith, so far may another church separate from it

I grant the Church of Rome to be a true church in essence, though corrupt in manners, and doctrine. And corruption of manners, attended with errors in the doctrines of faith, is a just cause for one particular church to separate from another." His grace then adds, with regard to the Church of Rome; "The cause of the separation is yours, for you thrust us from you because we called for truth and redress of abuses; for a schism must needs be theirs whose the cause of it is; the woe runs full out of the mouth of Christ, even against him that gives the offence, not against him that takes it. It was ill done to those, whoever they were, who first made the separation: I mean not actual but casual, for as I said before, the schism is theirs whose the cause of it is; and he makes the separation who gives the first just cause of it, not he that makes an actual separation upon a just cause preceding." Let the reader carefully consider these concessions, and then judge how far they will justify the separation of the protestant non-conformists at this day.

This year was famous for the discovery of the GUN-POWDER-PLOT, which was a contrivance of the papists to blow up the King and the whole royal family, with the chief of the protestant nobility and gentry, November fifth, the first day of their assembling in parliament; for this purpose a cellar was hired under the house of Lords, and stored with thirty-six barrels of gun-powder, covered over with coals and faggots. But the plot was discovered the night before, by means of a letter sent to the Lord Montecagle, advising him to absent himself from the house, because they were to receive a terrible blow, and not to know who hurt them. Montecagle carrying the letter to court, the King ordered the apartments about the parliament-house to be searched; the powder was found under the house of Lords, and Guy Faux with a dark lanthorn in the cellar, waiting to set fire to the train when he King should come to the house the next morning. Faux being apprehended confessed the plot, and impeached several of his accomplices, eight of whom were tried and executed, and among them, Garnet provincial of the English jesuits, whom the Pope afterwards canonized.

The discovery of this murderous conspiracy was

ascribed to the royal penetration; but Mr. Osborne and others with great probability say, that the first notice of it came from Henry the Fourth of France, who heard of it from the jesuits: and that the letter to Monteaule was an artifice of Cecil's, who being acquainted beforehand with the proceedings of the conspirators, suffered them to go their full length. Even Heylin says, that the King and his council mined with them, and undermined them, and by so doing blew up their whole invention. However it is agreed on all hands, that if the plot had taken place it was to have been fathered on the puritans; and as if the King was in the secret, his Majesty in his speech to the parliament November ninth, takes particular care to bring them into reproach; for after having cleared the Roman catholic religion from encouraging such murderous practices, he adds, that the cruelty of the puritans was worthy of fire, that would not allow salvation to any papists. So that if these unhappy people had been blown up, his Majesty thinks they had met with their deserts. Strange! that a puritan should be so much worse than a papist, or deserve to be burnt for uncharitableness, when his Majesty knew that the papists were so much more criminal in this respect than they, not only denying salvation to the puritans, but to all who are without the pale of their own church. But what was all this to the plot; except it was to turn off the indignation of the people from the papists, whom the King both feared and loved, to the puritans, who in a course of forty years sufferings had never moved the least sedition against the state, but who would not be the advocates or dupes of an unbounded prerogative!

The discovery of this plot occasioned the drawing up the **OATH OF ALLEGIANCE**, or of submission and obedience to the King as a temporal sovereign, independent of any other power upon earth; which quickly passed both houses, and was appointed to be taken by all the King's subjects; this oath is distinct from the oath of supremacy, which obliges the subject to acknowledge his Majesty to be supreme head of the church as well as the state, and might therefore be taken by all such Roman catholics as did not believe the Pope had power to depose

Kings, and give away their dominions. Accordingly Blackwell their superior, and most of the English catholics submitted to the oath, though the Pope absolutely forbade them on pain of damnation; which occasioned a new debate, concerning the extent of the Pope's power in temporals, between the learned of both religions. Cardinal Bellarmine under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote against the oath, which gave occasion to King James's apology to all christian princes; wherein, after clearing himself from the charge of persecuting the papists, he reproaches his holiness with ingratitude, considering the free liberty of religion that he had granted the papists, the honours he had conferred on them, the free access they had to his person at all times, the general gaol delivery of all jesuits and papists convict, and the strict orders he had given his judges not to put the laws in execution against them for the future. All which was true, while the puritans were imprisoned and fined, or forced into banishment. The parliament, on occasion of this plot, appointed an annual thanksgiving on the fifth of November, and passed another law, obliging all persons to come to church under the penalty of twelve pence every Sunday they were absent, unless they give such reasons as should be satisfactory to a justice of peace. This, like a two-edged sword, cut down all separatists, whether protestants or papists.

To return to the puritans, the more moderate of whom being willing to steer a middle course, between a total separation and absolute conformity, were attacked by some of the Bishops with this argument. —“All those who wilfully refuse to obey the King in all things indifferent, and to conform themselves to the orders of the church authorized by him, not contrary to the word of God, are schismatics, enemies to the King's supremacy and the state, and not to be tolerated in church or commonwealth. But you do so, therefore you are not to be tolerated in the church or commonwealth.” The puritans denied the charge, and returned this argument upon their accusers. “All those who freely and willingly perform to the King and state all obedience, not only in things necessary, but indifferent, commanded by law, and that have been

always ready to conform themselves to every order of the church authorized by him, not contrary to the word of God, are free from all schism, friends to the King's supremacy and to the state, and unworthy in this manner to be molested in church or commonwealth. But there is none of us that are deprived or suspended from our ministry, but have been ever ready to do all this; therefore we are free from schism, friends to the King's supremacy, and most unworthy of such molestation as we sustain."

This being the point of difference, the puritans offered a public disputation upon the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies in general; and in particular upon the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion; but were refused. Upon which the Lincolnshire ministers drew up an apology for those ministers who are troubled for refusing of subscription and conformity, and presented it to the King; it begins with a declaration of their readiness to subscribe the first of the three articles required by the 36th canon, concerning the King's supremacy; but to the other two, say they, we cannot subscribe, because we are persuaded, that both the book of Common Prayer, and the other book (of articles) to be subscribed by this canon (which, yet in some respects, we reverently esteem) contain in them sundry things which are not agreeable, but contrary to the word of God. They were answered by Bishop Moreton and Dr. Burges, who after having suffered himself to be deprived for non-conformity, was persuaded by King James to conform, and write in defence of his present conduct against his former arguments. Moreton endeavours to defend the innocence of the three ceremonies from scripture, antiquity, the testimony of protestant divines, and the practice of the non-conformists themselves in other cases, and has said as much as can be said in favour of them; though it is hard to defend the imposing them upon those who esteem them unlawful, or who apprehend things indifferent, ought to be left in the state that Christ left them.

It appears that the puritans were now removing to a greater distance from the church; for whereas Mr. Cartwright and his brethren wrote sharply against the cere-

monies as inconvenient, now they are opposed as absolutely unlawful, neither to be imposed nor used. The cruel severities of Bancroft and the high commissioners were the occasion of this; for being pushed upon one of these extremes, either to a constant and full conformity, or to lay down their ministry in the church, many of them at one of their conferences, came to this conclusion, that if they could not enjoy their livings without subscribing over again the three articles above-mentioned, and declaring at the same time, they did it **WILLINGLY AND FROM THEIR HEARTS**, it was their duty to resign. These were called brethren of the second separation, who were content to join with the church in her doctrines and sacraments, though they apprehended it unlawful to declare their hearty approbation of the ceremonies; and if their conduct was grounded upon a conviction that it was their duty as christians to bear their testimony against all unscriptural impositions in the worship of God, it must deserve the commendation of all impartial and consistent protestants. No men could go greater lengths for the sake of peace than they were willing to do; for in their defence of the ministers' reasons for refusal of subscription to the book of Common Prayer, they begin thus, "we protest before the Almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England as they be established by public authority, to be true visible churches of Christ; that we desire the continuance of our ministry in them above all earthly things, as that without which our whole life would be wearisome and bitter to us: that we dislike not a set form of prayer to be used in our churches; nor do we write with an evil mind to deprave the book of Common Prayer, ordination, or book of homilies; but to ~~show~~ **show** our reasons **why** we cannot subscribe to all things contained in them."

These extreme proceedings of the Bishops, strengthened the hands of the **BROWNISTS** in Holland, who with great advantage declared against the lawfulness of holding communion with the Church of England at that time, not only because it was a corrupt church, but a persecuting one. On the other hand, the younger divines in the church who preached for preferment, painted the separa-

tists in the most odious colours, as heretics, schismatics, fanatics, precisians, enemies to God and the King, and of unstable minds. The very same language which the papists had used against the first reformers.

To remove these reproaches, and to inform the world of the real principles of the puritans of these times, Mr. Bradshaw published a small treatise, entitled **ENGLISH PURITANISM**, containing the main opinions of the rigidest sort of those that went by that name in the realm of England, which the learned Dr. Ames translated into Latin for the benefit of foreigners. The reader will learn by the following abstract of it, the true state of their case, as well as the near affinity between the principles of the ancient and modern non-conformists.

Concerning religion in general.—The puritans hold and maintain the absolute perfection of the scriptures, both as to faith and worship; and that whatsoever is enjoined as a part of divine service, that cannot be warranted by the said scriptures, is unlawful. 2. That all inventions of men, especially such as have been abused to idolatry, are to be excluded out of the exercises of religion. 3. That all outward means instituted to express and set forth the inward worship of God, are parts of divine worship, and ought therefore evidently to be prescribed by the word of God. 4. To institute and ordain any mystical rites or ceremonies of religion, and to mingle the same with the divine rites and ceremonies of God's ordinance, is gross superstition.

Concerning the church.—1. They maintain, that every congregation ordinarily joining together in the true worship of God, is a true visible church of Christ. 2. That all such churches are in all ecclesiastical matters equal, and ought to have the same officers, administrations, orders, and forms of worship. 3. That Christ has not subjected any church to any other superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction than to that which is within itself, so that if a whole church should err in any matters of faith and worship, no other churches or spiritual officers, have power to censure or punish them, but are only to counsel and advise them. 4. That every church ought to have her own spiritual officers and ministers resident with her; and those such as are

enjoined by Christ in the New Testament, and no other. 5. That every church ought to have liberty to choose their own spiritual officers. 6. That if particular churches err in this choice, none but the civil magistrate has power to controul them, and oblige them to make a better choice. 7. That ecclesiastical officers or ministers in one church, ought not to bear any ecclesiastical office in another; and they are not to forsake their callings without just cause, and such as may be approved by the congregation; but if the congregation will not hearken to reason, they are then to appeal to the civil magistrate, who is bound to procure them justice. 8. That a church having chosen its spiritual governors, ought to live in all canonical obedience to them, agreeable to the word of God, and if any of them be suspended, or unjustly deprived, by other ecclesiastical officers, they are humbly to pray the magistrate to restore them; and if they cannot obtain it, they are to own them to be their spiritual guides to the death, though they are rigorously deprived of their ministry and service. 9. That the laws and orders of the churches warranted by the word of God, are not repugnant to civil government, whether monarchical, aristocratical or democratical; and we renounce all jurisdiction that is repugnant or derogatory to any of these, especially to the monarchy of this kingdom."

Concerning the ministers of the word, and elders.—

1. They hold, that the pastors of particular congregations are the highest spiritual officers in the church, over whom there is no superior pastor but Jesus Christ. 2. That no pastor ought to exercise, or accept of any civil jurisdiction or authority, but ought to be wholly employed in spiritual offices and duties to that congregation over which he is set. 3. That the supreme office of the pastor is to preach the word publicly to the congregation; and that the people of God ought not to acknowledge any for their pastors that are not able by preaching to interpret and apply the word of God to them. 4. That in public worship the pastor only is to be the mouth of the congregation to God in prayer; and that the people are only to testify their assent by the word Amen. 6. That the church has no power to impose upon her pastors or officers, any other

ceremonies or injunction, than what Christ has appointed. 7. That in every church there should also be a doctor to instruct and catechize the ignorant in the main principles of religion. 8. They hold, that the congregation should choose other officers as assistants to the ministers in the government of the church, who are jointly with the ministers to be overseers in the manners and conversation of all the congregation. 9. That these are to be chosen out of the gravest, and most discreet members, who are also of some note in the world, and able, if possible, to maintain themselves.

Concerning the civil magistrate.—1. They hold, that the civil magistrate ought to have supreme civil power over all the churches within his dominions: but that as he is a christian, he ought to be a member of some one of them; which is not in the least derogatory to his civil supremacy. 2. That all ecclesiastical officers are punishable by the civil magistrate, for the abuse of their ecclesiastical offices; and much more if they intrude upon the rights and prerogatives of the civil authority. 3. They hold the Pope to be anti-christ, because he usurps the supremacy over Kings and princes; and therefore all that defend the popish faith, and that are for tolerating that religion, are secret enemies of the King's supremacy. 4. That all archbishops, bishops, deans, officials, &c. hold their offices and functions, at the King's will and pleasure, merely *jure humano*; and whosoever holdeth, that the King may not remove them, and dispose of them at his pleasure, is an enemy to his supremacy.

Let the reader now judge, whether there was sufficient ground for the calumny and reproach that was cast upon the puritans of these times. But their adversaries having often charged them with denying the supremacy, and with claiming a sort of jurisdiction over the King himself, they published another pamphlet this summer, entitled "protestation of the King's supremacy, made in the name of the afflicted ministers, and opposed to the shameful calumniations of the prelates." To which was annexed, an humble petition for liberty of conscience.

But though the principles of submission are laid down with great latitude, and though the practice of the Puritans was agreeable to them, yet their enemies did not fail to charge them with disloyalty, with sedition, and with disturbing the peace of the state. Upon which the ministers of Devon and Cornwall published another small treatise, entitled, "A removal of certain imputations laid upon the ministers, &c." in which they say, "Let the Bishops sift well our courses since his Majesty's happy entrance in among us, and let the name wherein we have done aught that may justly be said ill to become the ministers of Jesus Christ. Have we drawn any sword? Have we raised any tumult? Have we raised any threats? Hath the state been put into any fear or hazard through us? Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them; the liberty of our ministry hath been taken from us, and, though with bleeding hearts, we have sustained it. We have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of violence. The truth is, we have petitioned the King and state; and who hath reason to deny us that liberty? we have craved of the prelates to deal with us according to law; and is not this the common benefit of every subject? We have besought them to convince our consciences by scripture. Alas! what would they have us to do? Will they have us content ourselves with this only, that they are Bishops, and therefore for their greatness ought to be yielded to? The weight of episcopal power may oppress us but cannot convince us."

It appears from hence, that the Puritans were the King's faithful subjects; that they complied to the utmost limit of their consciences, and that when they could not obey they were content to suffer. Here are no principles inconsistent with the public safety; no marks of heresy, impiety or sedition; no charges of ignorance, or neglect of duty; how unreasonable then must it be, to silence and deprive such men? to shut them up in prison, or send them with their families a-begging, while their pulpit doors were to be shut up, and there was a famine in

many parts of the country, not of bread, but of the word of the Lord ; yet these honest men were not only persecuted at home, but restrained from retiring into his Majesty's dominions abroad ; for when the ecclesiastical courts had driven them from their habitations and livelihood, and were still hunting them by their informers from one end of the land to the other, several families crossed the ocean to Virginia, and invited their friends to follow ; but Bancroft being informed that great numbers were preparing to embark, obtained a proclamation prohibiting them to transport themselves to Virginia, without a special licence from the King ; a severity hardly to be paralleled ! nor was it ever imitated in this country except by Archbishop Laud.

The Isles of Guernsey and Jersey having enjoyed the discipline of the French churches without disturbance, all the reign of Elizabeth, upon the accession of the present King, addressed his Majesty for a confirmation of it ; which he was pleased to grant by a letter under the privy seal. But Bancroft and some of his brethren the bishops, having possessed the King with the necessity of a general uniformity throughout all his dominions, these islands were to be included ; accordingly Sir John Peyton, a zealous churchman, was appointed governor, with secret instructions to root out the Geneva discipline, and plant the English liturgy and ceremonies in its room. This gentleman taking advantage of the synod's appointing a minister to a vacant living according to custom, protested against it, as injurious to the King's prerogative, and complained to court, that the Jersey ministers had usurped the patronage of the benefices of the island ; that they admitted men to livings without the form of presentation, which was a loss to the crown in its first fruits ; that by the connivance or allowance of former governors, they exercised a kind of arbitrary jurisdiction ; and therefore prayed that his Majesty would settle the English discipline among them. The Jersey ministers alleged in their own defence, that the presentation to livings was a branch of their discipline, that the payment of first fruits and tenths had never been demanded since they were disengaged from the see of Constance ; and they pleaded his Majesty's royal confirmation of their discipline. But this pious King had very little regard to promises, oaths,

or charters, when they stood in the way of his arbitrary designs; he ordered therefore his ecclesiastical officers to pursue his instructions in the most effectual manner. Accordingly they took the presentations to vacant livings into their own hands, without consulting the presbytery; they annulled the oath, whereby all ecclesiastical and civil officers were obliged to swear to the maintenance of their discipline; and whereas all who received the holy sacrament were required to subscribe to the allowance of the general form of church government in that island, the King's attorney-general and his friends now refused it. Their elders likewise were cited into the temporal courts and stripped of their privileges; nor had they much better quarter in the consistory, for the governor and jurats made the decrees of that court ineffectual, by reversing them in the Town-Hall. Complaint being made to the court of these innovations, the King sent them word, that to avoid all disputes for the future, he was determined to revive the office and authority of a dean, and to establish the English Common Prayer Book among them, which he did accordingly; and ordered the Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese they were, to draw up some canons for the dean's direction in the exercise of his government; which being done, and confirmed by the King, their former privileges were extinguished. Whereupon many left the islands and retired into France and Holland; however others made a shift to support their discipline after a manner in the island of Guernsey, where the episcopal regulations could not take place.

Mr. Parker, a puritan minister already mentioned, published this year a very learned treatise "of the cross in baptism." But the Bishops instead of answering it, persuaded the King to issue a proclamation, with an offer of a reward for apprehending him, which obliged him to abscond. A treacherous servant of the family having informed the officers where he had retired, they came and searched the house, but by the special providence of God he was preserved, the only room they neglected to search being that in which he was concealed, from whence he heard them quarreling and swearing at one another; one

saying, they had not searched that room, and another confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be searched over again. Had he been taken he had been cast into prison, where without doubt he must have died. When he got into Holland he would have been chosen minister of the English church at Amsterdam, but the magistrates being afraid of disobliging King James, he went to Doesburgh, and became minister of that garrison, where he departed this life.

This year died the famous Dr. John Raynolds, King's professor in Oxford, at first a zealous papist, while his brother William was a protestant, but by conference and disputation the brothers converted each other, William dying an inveterate papist, and John an eminent protestant. He was born in Devonshire, and educated in *Corpus Christi* College Oxford, of which he was afterwards president. He was a prodigy for reading, his memory being a living library. Dr. Hall used to say, that his memory and reading were near a miracle. He had turned over all writers profane and ecclesiastical, as councils, fathers, histories, &c. He was a critic in the languages; of a sharp wit and indefatigable industry; his piety and sanctity of life were so conspicuous, that the learned Craecauthorp used to say, that to name Raynolds was to commend virtue itself. Yet he was a man of distinguished modesty and humility. In short says the Oxford historian, nothing can be spoken against him, but that he was the pillar of puritanism, and the grand favourer of non-conformity. At length after a severe and mortified life, he died in his college, aged sixty-eight, and was buried in St. Mary's church.

Soon after died the famous Mr. Brightman, author of a commentary upon the Song of Solomon, and the Revelations. He was born at Nottingham, and bred in Queen's College, Cambridge, where he became a champion for non-conformity to the ceremonies. He was afterwards presented by Sir J. Osbourne to the rectory of Hauness in Bedfordshire, spending the remainder of his days in hard study, and constant application to his charge, as far as his conscience would admit. His life, says Mr. Fuller, was angelical; his learning uncommon; he was a close student, of little stature, and such a master of himself, that he was

never known to be moved with anger. His daily discourse was against episcopal government, which he prophesied would shortly be overthrown, and the government of the foreign protestant churches erected in its place. He died suddenly upon the road, as he was riding with Sir J. Osbourne in his coach, by a sudden obstruction of the liver or gall, aged fifty-one years.

The King having given the reins of the church into the hands of the prelates and their dependants, these in return became zealous champions for the prerogative, both in the pulpit and from the press. Two books were published this year, which maintained the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power; one wrote by Cowel, vicar general to the Archbishop, wherein he affirms—1. That the King is not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them. 3. That it is a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies. The other, by Dr. Blackwood a clergyman, who maintained that the English were all slaves from the Norman conquest. The parliament would have brought the authors to justice, but the King protected them by proroguing the houses in displeasure: and to supply his necessities began to raise money by monopolies of divers manufactures, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

This year died the famous Jacobus Arminius, divinity professor in the University of Leyden, who gave birth to the famous sect still called by his name. He was born at Oudewater, 1560. His parents dying in his infancy, he was educated at the public expence by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and was afterwards chosen one of the ministers of that city in 1588. Being desired by one of the professors of Franeker to confute a treatise of Beza's upon the supralapsarian scheme of predestination, he fell himself into the contrary sentiment. In 1600, he was called to succeed Junius in the divinity chair of Leyden, and was the first who was solemnly created doctor of divinity in that University. Here his notions concerning predestination and grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption, met with a powerful opposition from Gomarus and others. But though

his disciples increased prodigiously in a few years, yet the troubles he met with from his adversaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his spirits, so that he sunk into a melancholy disorder, attended with a complication of distempers, which hastened his end, after he had been professor six years, and had lived forty-nine. He is represented as a divine of considerable learning, piety and modesty, far from going the length of his successors, *Forstius*, *Episcopus*, and *Curcellæus*; yet his doctrines occasioned such confusion in that country, as could not be terminated without a national synod, and produced great distractions in the Church of England, as will be seen hereafter,

In the parliament which met this summer, the spirit of English liberty began to revive; one of the members made a bold speech in the house of commons, containing a particular representation of the grievances of the nation, and of the attempts made for the redress of them.

But to put a stop to such dangerous speeches, the King summoned both houses to Whitehall, and told them that he did not intend to govern by the absolute power of a King, though he knew the power of Kings was like the divine power; for, says his Majesty, as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his pleasure, so *kings can give life and death, judge all and be judged by none; they can exalt and abase, and like men at chess, make a pawn take a bishop or a knight.* After this he says, as it was blasphemy to dispute what God might do, so it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a King might do in the height of his power. He commanded them therefore not to meddle with the main points of government, which would be to lessen his *craft*, who had been thirty years at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years in England.

The parliament not terrified with this high language, went on steadily in asserting their rights; and twenty of the lower house presented a remonstrance, in which they declare,—“That whereas they had first received a message, and since by his Majesty’s speech had been commanded to refrain from debating upon things relating to the chief points of government; they do hold it their undoubted

right to examine into the grievances of the subject, and to enquire into their own rights and properties, as well as his Majesty's prerogative : and they most humbly and instantly beseech his gracious Majesty, that without offence to the same, they may according to the undoubted right and liberty of parliament, proceed in their intended course against the late new impositions. But the King instead of concurring with his parliament, was so disgusted with their remonstrance, that he dissolved them, without passing any one act this session, after they had continued above six years ; and was so out of humour with the spirit of English liberty that was growing in the houses, that he resolved if possible to govern without parliaments for the future. This was done by the advice of Bancroft and other servile court flatters, and was the beginning of that mischief, says Wilson, which when it came to a full ripeness, made such a bloody tincture in both kingdoms as never will be got out of the Bishops' lawn sleeves.

From the time that James came to the English throne and long before, if we may believe Dr. Heylin, his Majesty had projected the restoring episcopacy in the kirk of Scotland, and reducing the two kingdoms to one uniform government and discipline ; for this purpose Archbishop Bancroft maintained a secret correspondence with him, and corrupted one Norton, an English bookseller at Edinburgh, to betray the Scots affairs to him, as he confessed with tears at his examination. Upon his Majesty's arrival in England he took all occasions to discover his aversion to the Scots presbyterians, taxing them with sauciness, ill-manners, and an implacable enmity to kingly power ; he nominated bishops to the thirteen Scots bishoprics which himself had formerly abolished ; but their revenues being annexed to the crown, their dignities were little more than titular. In the parliament held at Perth in 1606, his Majesty obtained an act to restore the bishops to their temporalities, and to repeal the act of annexation ; by which they were restored to their votes in parliament, and had the title of lords of parliament, contrary to the sense both of clergy and laity.

In the convention at Linlithgow, consisting of noblemen, statesmen, and some court ministers, it was agreed, that the Bishops should be perpetual moderators of the kirk

assemblies, under certain cautions, and with a declaration that they had no purpose to subvert the discipline of the kirk, or to exercise any tyrannous or unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren; but the body of the ministers being uneasy at this, another convention was held at Linlithgow, and a committee appointed to compromise the difference; who, when they met debated, 1. Whether the moderators of kirk assemblies should be constant or circular; and 2. Whether the caveats should be observed. But coming to no agreement, they adjourned to Striveling, where the Bishops with great difficulty carried their point. And to increase their power, his Majesty pleased next year, contrary to law, to put the high commission into their hands. Still they wanted the sanction of a general assembly, and a spiritual character.—To obtain the former an assembly was held at Glasgow, means having been used by the courtiers to model it to their mind. In that costly assembly the Bishops were declared moderators in every diocesan assembly, and they or their deputies, moderators in their weekly exercises; ordination and deprivation of ministers, visitation of kirks, excommunication and absolution, with presentations to benefices, were pinned to the lawn sleeves; and it was farther voted, 1. That every minister at his entry shall swear obedience to his ordinary. 2. That no minister shall preach or speak against the acts of this assembly; 3. That the question of the parity or imparity of pastors shall not be mentioned in the pulpit under pain of deprivation. This was a vast advance upon the constitution of the kirk.

To obtain a spiritual character superior to the order of presbyters, it was necessary that the Bishops elect should be consecrated by some of the same order; for this purpose the King sent for three of them into England, and issued a commission under the great seal to the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rochester, requiring them to proceed to their consecration according to the English ordinal: Andrews, Bishop of Ely, was of opinion, that before their consecration they ought to be made priests, because they had not been ordained by a Bishop. This the Scots divines were unwilling to admit, through fear of the consequences among their own countrymen; for what must they conclude concerning the ministers of Scotland, if their ordination as

presbyters was not valid? Bancroft therefore yielded, that where Bishops could not be had, ordination by presbyters must be valid, otherwise the character of the ministers in most of the reformed churches might be questioned. Abbot, Bishop of London, and others were of opinion, that there was no necessity of passing through the inferior orders of deacon and priest, but that the episcopal character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the example of St. Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who from mere lay-men were advanced at once into the episcopal chair. But whether this supposition does not rather weaken the arguments of Bishops, being a distinct order from presbyters, I leave with the reader. However the Scots divines were consecrated, and upon their return into Scotland conveyed their new character in the same manner to their brethren. Thus the King, by an usurped supremacy over the kirk of Scotland, and other violent and indirect means, subverted their ecclesiastical constitution; and contrary to the genius of the people, and the protestation of the general assembly, the bishops were made lords of council, lords of parliament, and lords commissioners in causes ecclesiastical; but with all their high titles they sat uneasy in their chairs, being generally hated both by the ministers and people.

About ten days after this consecration, Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life; he was born at Famworth, in Lancashire, and educated in Jesus College, Cambridge. He was first chaplain to Cox, Bishop of Ely, who gave him the rectory of Teversham, near Cambridge. In 1585, he proceeded D. D. and being ambitious of preferment, got into the service of Sir C. Hutton, by whose recommendation he was made prebendary of Westminster. Here he signalized himself by preaching against the Puritans; a sure way to preferment in those times. He also wrote against their discipline; and was the first in the Church of England who openly maintained the divine right of the order of bishops. While he sat in the high commission, he distinguished himself by an uncommon zeal against the non-conformists, for which he was preferred, first to the bishopric of London, and upon Whitgift's decease to the see of Canterbury; how he behaved in that high station

has been sufficiently related. This prelate left behind him no extraordinary character for piety, learning, hospitality, or any other episcopal quality. He was of a rough inflexible temper, yet a tool of the prerogative, and an enemy to the laws and constitution of his country. Some have represented him as inclined to popery, because he maintained several secular priests in his own house ; but this was done, says his advocates, to keep up the controversy between them and the Jesuits. Lord Clarendon says, that he understood the church excellently well, that he had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the non-conformist ; and that he countenanced men of learning. His lordship might have added, that he was covetous, passionate, ill-natured, and a cruel persecutor of good men ; that he laid aside the hospitality becoming a bishop, and lived without state or equipage, which gave occasion to the following satire upon his death.

Here lies his grace in cold clay clad,
Who died for want of what he had.

CHAP. II.



JAMES I.

Abbot succeeds Bancroft.—Heretics burnt.—State of the Court.—Death of the Prince of Wales.—Reformation in Ireland.—Scots Settlement in Ireland.—Rise of Independents in England.—The King preaches in the Star-Chamber.—Synod of Dort.—Proceedings in Scotland.—Book of Sports.—Puritans settle in New-England.—Rise of Americans at Court.—The King's arbitrary behaviour.—Laws against Papists relaxed.—Remarks.—Archbishop Abbot accidentally kills a Man and retires from Court.—Spanish Match.—A New Parliament.—The King's Death.—State of Religion during his Reign.—The Character of King James.—Character of his Court.

BANCROFT was succeeded by Dr. GEORGE ABBOT, Bishop of London, a divine of a quite different spirit from his predecessor. A sound protestant, a thorough Calvinist, an avowed enemy to popery, and even suspected of puritanism, because he relaxed the penal laws, whereby says Lord Clarendon, "He unravelled all that his predecessor had been doing for many years, who if he had lived a little longer, would have subdued the unruly spirit of the non-conformists, and extinguished that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva; but Abbot considered the christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. He enquired but little after the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or

conformity to the articles or canons established, and did not think so ill of the presbyterian discipline as he ought to have done, but if men prudently forbore a public reviling at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, they were secure from any inquisition from him, and were equally preferred. His house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of the factious party, and he licensed their pernicious writings." This is the heavy charge brought against one of the most religious and venerable prelates of his age, and a steady friend of the constitution in church and state. If Abbot's moderate measures had been constantly pursued, the liberties of England had been secured, popery, discountenanced, and the church prevented from running into those excesses, which first proved its reproach and afterwards its ruin.

Upon the death of Arminius, the curators of the University of Leyden chose Conradus Vorstius his successor. This divine had published a very exceptionable treatise concerning the nature and properties of God, in which he maintained, that God had a body; and denied his proper immensity and omniscience, as they are commonly understood. He maintained the divine Being to be limited and restrained, and ascribed quantity and magnitude to him. The clergy of Amsterdam remonstrated to the states against his settlement at Leyden, the country being already too much divided about the Arminian tenets. To strengthen their hands they applied to the English ambassador to represent the case to King James; and prevailed with the curators to defer his induction into the professorship till his Majesty had read over his book; which having done, he declared Vorstius to be an arch-heretic, a pest, a monster of blasphemies: and to shew his detestation of his book, ordered it to be burnt publicly in St. Paul's church-yard, and at both Universities; in the conclusion of his letter to the States on this occasion he says, "As God has honoured us with the title of defender of the faith, so, if you incline to retain Vorstius any longer, we shall be obliged not only to separate and cut ourselves off from such false and heretical churches, but likewise to call upon all the rest of the reformed churches to enter upon the same common consultation, how we may best extinguish and send back to

hell these cursed (Arminian) heresies that have newly broken forth. And as for ourselves, we shall be necessitated to forbid all the youth of our subjects to frequent an university that is so infected as that of Leyden." His Majesty also sent over sundry other memorials, in which he styles Vorstius a wicked Atheist; Arminius an enemy to God. And Bertius having wrote that the saints might fall from grace, he said the author was worthy of the fire.

At length the King published his royal declaration in several languages, containing an account of all he had done in the affair of Vorstius, with his reasons; which were, his zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and allies, and fear for the same contagion in his own kingdom; but their high Mightinesses did not like his intermeddling so far in their affairs. However, Vorstius was dismissed to Gouda, where he lived privately till the synod of Dort, when he was banished the seven provinces; he then retired to Tonningen, where he died a professed Socinian.

His Majesty had a further opportunity of discovering his zeal against heresy this year, upon two of his own subjects. One was Bartholomew Legate an Arian; he was about forty years of age, of a fluent tongue, excellently well versed in the scriptures, and of an unblameable conversation. James himself and some of his Bishops, in vain conferred with him, in hope of convincing him of his errors. Having lain a considerable time in Newgate, he was at length brought before Bishop King in his consistory at St. Paul's who with other divines and lawyers there assembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate heretic, and certified the same into chancery by a significavit, delivering him over to the secular power; whereupon he was brought to Smithfield, and in the midst of a vast concourse of people burnt to death. A pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it.

Next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of heresy by Dr. Neile, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burnt at Litchfield. He was charged in the warrant with the heresies of Arius, Cerinthus,

King's necessities, he was obliged at last to call a parliament. When the houses met, they proceeded immediately to consider of and redress grievances, upon which the King dissolved them, before they had enacted one statute, and committed some of the principal members of the house of commons to prison, without admitting them to bail, resolving again to raise money without the aid of parliament.

This year the articles of the church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed; the reformation of that kingdom had made a slow progress in the late reign, by reason of the wars between the English and natives, and the small proportion of the former to the latter. The natives had a strong prejudice against the English, as coming into the country by conquest; and being bigotted papists, their prejudices were inflamed by Henry the Eighth's throwing off the pope's supremacy, which threatened the loss of their religion, as well as their civil liberties. In the reign of Philip and Mary they were more quiet, when a law was passed against bringing in the Scots and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole reign of Elizabeth, and was a great hindrance to the progress of the protestant religion in that country; however an university was erected at Dublin in 1593, and furnished with learned professors from Cambridge of the calvinistical persuasion. James Usher, afterwards the renowned Archbishop of Armagh, was the first student who was entered into the college. The discipline of the Irish church was according to the model of the English; Bishops were nominated to the popish dioceses, but their revenue being alienated, or in the hands of papists, or very much diminished by the wars, they were obliged to throw the revenues of several bishoprics together, to make a tolerable subsistence for one. The case was the same with the inferior clergy, forty shillings a year being a common allowance for a vicar in the province of Connaught, and sometimes only sixteen. Thus, says Collyer, the authority of the Bishops went off, and the people followed their own fancies in the choice of religion.

At the Hampton court conference the King proposed sending preachers into Ireland, complaining that he was

but half monarch of that kingdom, the bodies of the people being only subject to his authority, while their consciences were at the command of the Pope; yet it does not appear that any attempts were made to convert them till after 1607, when the act of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary being repealed, the citizens of London undertook for the province of Ulster. These adventurers built Londonderry, fortified Colrain, and purchased a great tract of land in the adjacent parts. They sent over considerable numbers of planters, but were at a loss for ministers; for the beneficed clergy of the Church of England being at ease in the enjoyment of their preferments, would not engage in such a hazardous undertaking, it fell therefore to the lot of the Scots and English puritans; the Scots by reason of their vicinity to the northern parts of Ireland, transported numerous colonies; they improved the country, and brought preaching into the churches where they settled; but being of the presbyterian persuasion they formed their churches after their own model. The London adventurers prevailed with several of the English puritans to remove, who being persecuted at home, were willing to go any where within the King's dominions for the liberty of their consciences: and more would have gone, could they have been secure of a toleration after they were settled; but their chief resource was from the Scots.

Mr. Blair one of their number was a zealous presbyterian, and scrupled episcopal ordination, but the bishop of the diocese (Bangor) compromised the difference; by agreeing that the other Scots presbyters of Mr. Blair's persuasion should join with him, and that such passages in the established form of ordination, as Mr. Blair and his brethren disliked, should be omitted, or exchanged for others of their own approbation. Thus was Mr. Blair ordained publicly in the Church of Bangor; the Bishop of Raphoe did the same for Mr. Levingston; and all the Scots who were ordained in Ireland from this time to 1642, were ordained after the same manner; all of them enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained presbyterian, and used not the liturgy; nay the Bishops consulted them about affairs of common con-

cernment to the church, and some of them were members of the convocation in 1634. They had their monthly meetings at Antrim, for the promoting of piety and the extirpation of popery. They had also their quarterly communions, by which means great numbers of the inhabitants were civilized, and many became serious christians. Mr. Blair preached before the judges of assize on the Lord's day, at the desire of the Bishop of Down, and his curate administered the sacrament to them the same day; so that there was a sort of comprehension between the two parties, by the countenance and approbation of the great Archbishop Usher, who encouraged the ministers in this good work. And thus things continued till the administration of Archbishop Laud, who by dividing the protestants weakened them, and made way for that enormous growth of popery, which ended in the massacre of almost all the protestants in the kingdom. It appears from hence, that the reformation of Ireland was built upon a puritan foundation, though episcopacy was the legal establishment; but it was impossible to make any considerable progress in the conversion of the natives, because of their bigotry and prejudice against the English nation, whose language they could not be persuaded to learn.

The protestant religion being now pretty well established, it was thought adviseable to frame some articles of their common faith, according to the custom of other churches; some moved in convocation to adopt the articles of the English church, but this was over-ruled, as not so honourable to themselves, who were as much a national church as England, nor so consistent with their independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new confession of their own; the draught was referred to the conduct of Usher, then provost of Dublin College; and passed both houses of convocation and parliament with great unanimity, and being sent over to the English court was approved in council, and ratified this year in the King's name. These articles seem contrived to compromise the difference between the church and the puritans; and they had that effect till 1634, when by the influence of Archbishop Laud and of the Earl of Strafford, these articles were set aside, and those of the Church of England received in their room.

To return to England. Among the puritans who fled from the persecution of Bishop Bancroft, was Mr. Jacob. This divine having conferred with Mr. Robinson, pastor of an English church at Leyden, embraced his sentiments of church discipline, since known by the name of **INDEPENDENCY**. In the year 1610, Mr. Jacob published at Leyden a small treatise in octavo, entitled "The divine beginning and institution of Christ's true visible and material church;" and followed it next year with another from Middleburgh, which he called "An explication and confirmation of his former treatise." Some time after he returned to England, and having imparted his design of setting up a separate congregation, like those in Holland, to the most learned puritans of those times, it was not condemned as unlawful, considering there was no prospect of a national reformation. Mr. Jacob therefore having summoned several of his friends together, and having obtained their consent to unite in church-fellowship, for enjoying the ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first Independent, or congregational church in England, after the following manner. Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity each of them made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then standing together they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make them known to them. Mr. Jacob was then chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer and imposition of hands. The same year Mr. Jacob published a protestation of confession in the name of certain christians, shewing how far they agreed with the Church of England, and wherein they differed, with the reasons of their dissent drawn from scripture; to which was added, a petition to the King for the toleration of such christians. And some time after he published a collection of sound reasons, shewing how necessary it is for all christians to

walk in all the ways and ordinances of God in purity, and in a right church way. Mr. Jacob continued with his people about eight years, but in 1624, being desirous to enlarge his usefulness, he went with their consent to Virginia, where he soon after died. Thus according to the testimony of the Oxford historian, and some others, Mr. Jacob was the first Independent minister in England, and this the first congregational church. Upon the departure of Mr. Jacob his church chose Mr. Lathorp their pastor, whose history will be resumed in its proper place.

The King was so full of his prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his subjects of its unlimited extent; for this purpose he turned preacher in the Star-chamber, and took his text, Psalm, lxxii. 1. "Give the King thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness to the King's son." After dividing and subdividing, and giving the literal and mystical sense of his text, he applied it to the judges and courts of judicature, telling them that the King sitting in the throne of God, all judgments centre in him, and therefore for inferior courts to determine difficult questions without consulting him, was to encroach upon his *prerogative*, and to limit his power, which it was not lawful for the tongue of a lawyer, nor any subject to dispute. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, says he, so it is presumption, and a high contempt to dispute what Kings can do or say; it is to take away that mystical reverence that belongs to them who sit in the throne of God. Then addressing himself to the auditory he advises them, "Not to meddle with the King's prerogative or honour. Plead not, says he, upon puritanical principles, which make all things popular, but keep within the ancient limits.

In speaking of recusants he says there are three sorts, 1. Some that come now and then to church; these (the puritans) are formal to the laws, but false to God. 2. Others that have their consciences misled, some of those (the papists that swear allegiance) live as peaceable subjects. 3. Others are practising recusants, who oblige their servants and tenants to be of their opinion. These are men of pride and presumption. I am loath to hang a priest-

only for his religion, and saying mass ; but if they refuse the oath of allegiance, I leave them to the law. He concludes with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy against papists and puritans ; adding, God and the King will reward your zeal.

It is easy to observe from hence, his Majesty's implacable aversion to the puritans, was founded not merely or principally on their refusal of the ceremonies, but on their principles of civil liberty and enmity to absolute monarchy ; for all arguments against the extent of the prerogative are said to be founded on puritan principles. A King with such maxims should have been frugal of his revenues, that he might not have stood in need of parliaments ; but our monarch was extravagantly profuse, and to supply his wants delivered back this year to the Dutch their cautionary towns, which were the keys of their country, for less than a quarter part of the money that had been lent on them.

This year died the learned and judicious Mr. Baynes, born in London, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow. He succeeded Mr. Perkins in the lecture at St. Andrew's church, where he behaved with that gravity and exemplary piety, as rendered him universally acceptable to all who had any taste of serious religion, till Archbishop Bancroft sending Dr. Harsnet to visit the University, called upon Mr. Baynes to subscribe according to the canons, which he refusing, the doctor silenced him, and put down his lecture. Mr. Baynes appealed to the Archbishop, but his grace stood by his chaplains, and threatened to lay the good old man by the heels, for appearing before him with a little black edging upon his cuffs. After this Mr. Baynes preached only occasionally, as he could get opportunity, and was reduced to such poverty and want that he said, "He had not where to lay his head;" but at length death put an end to his sufferings. He published a Commentary upon the Ephesians ; the Dioclesians' trial against Dr. Downham ; and some other practical treatises. Dr. Sibbes says, he was a divine of uncommon learning, clear judgment, ready wit, and of much communion with God and his own heart.

The disputes in Holland between the Calvinists and Arminians, upon the five points, relating to election, redemption, original sin, effectual grace, and perseverance rose to such an height, as obliged the States-general to have recourse to a national synod. Each party had loaded the other with reproaches, and in the warmth of dispute, charged their opinions with the most invidious consequences, insomuch that all good neighbourhood was lost, the pulpits were filled with unprofitable and angry disputes, and as each party prevailed, the other were turned out of the churches. The magistrates were no less divided than the ministers, one city and town being ready to take up arms against another. At length it grew into a state faction, which endangered the dissolution of the government. Maurice, Prince of Orange, though a remonstrant, put himself at the head of the Calvinists, or contra-remonstrants, because they were for the Stadtholder, and the magistrates who were against a Stadtholder sided with the remonstrants, or Arminians, among whom the advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt, and the pensioners of Leyden and Rotterdam, Hogerberts and Grotius, were the chief. Several attempts were made for an accommodation, or toleration of the two parties; but this not succeeding, the three heads of the remonstrants were taken into custody, and the magistrates of several towns and cities changed, by authority of the prince, which made way for the choosing such a synod as his highness desired. The classes of the several towns met first in a provincial synod, and these sent deputies to the national one, with proper instructions. The remonstrants were averse to the calling a synod, because their numbers were as yet unequal to the Calvinists, and their leaders being in custody, it was easy to foretel their approaching fate. They complained of injustice in their summons to the provincial assemblies; but Trigland says, that were the remonstrants were weakest, they were equally regarded with the other party; but in truth their deputies were angry and dissatisfied, and in many places absented from their classes, and so yielded up their power into the hands of their adversaries, who condemned their principles, and deposed several of their ministers.

The national synod of Dort consisted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five professors of the Universities, and twenty-one lay-elders, making together sixty-one persons, of which not above three or four were remonstrants. Besides these, there were twenty-eight foreign divines, from Great Britain, from the Palatinate, from Hussia, &c.; the French King not admitting his protestant divines to appear. After the divines as well domestic as foreign, had produced their credentials, Mr. Bogerman of Leewarden was chosen president, Messrs. Roland and Herman Faukelius, of Amsterdam and Middleburgh assessors; Heinsius was scribe, and Messrs. Dammon and Festius Hommius, secretaries; a general fast was then appointed, after which they proceeded to business.

The names of the English divines were Dr. Carlton, Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sidney College Cambridge; but Dr. Hall not being able to bear the climate, Dr. Goad prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in his room. Mr. Beleanqual a Scotsman, but no friend to the kirk, was also commissioned by King James to represent that church. He was taken into consultation, and joined in suffrage with the English divines, so as to make one college; for the divines of each nation gave only one vote in the synod, as their united sense: and though Beleanqual did not wear the habits of the English divines, nor sit with them in the synod, having a place by himself as representative of the Scots kirk, yet his apparel was decent, and in all respects he gave much satisfaction. His Majesty's instructions to them were, 1. To agree among themselves about the state of any question, and how far it may be maintained agreeably to the scriptures and the doctrine of the Church of England. 2. To advise the Dutch ministers not to insist in their sermons upon scholastic points, but to abide by their former confession of faith, and those of their neighbour reformed churches. 3. That they should consult the King's honour, the peace of the distracted churches, and behave in all things with gravity and moderation. The synod continued to the 29th of May, in which time there were one hundred

and eighty sessions. In the hundred and forty-fifth session, the Belgic confession of faith was debated and put to the question, which the English divines agreed to except the articles relating to the parity of ministers and ecclesiastical discipline. They said they had carefully examined the said confession, and did not find any thing therein, with respect to faith and doctrine, but what was in the main conformable to the word of God. They added, that they had likewise considered the Arminians' exceptions against the said confession, and declared that they were of such a nature as to be capable of being made against all the confessions of other reformed churches. They did not pretend to pass any judgment upon the articles relating to their church government, but only maintained that their own church government was founded upon apostolical institution.

Mr. Hales of Eaton, chaplain to the English ambassador Carlton, sat among the hearers for some weeks, and having taken minutes of the proceedings, transmitted them twice or thrice a week to his excellency at the Hague. After his departure Dr. Balcanqual, the Scots commissioner, and Dr. Ames carried on the correspondence. Mr. Hales observes, that the remonstrants behaved on several occasions very imprudently, not only in the manner of their debates, but in declining the authority of the synod, though summoned by the civil magistrate in the most unexceptionable manner. The five points of difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, after a long hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the remonstrant ministers were dismissed the assembly, and banished the country within a limited time, except they submitted to the new confession; on which occasion some very hard speeches were mutually exchanged, and appeals made to the final tribunal of God.

When the opinion of the British divines was read upon the extent of Christ's redemption, it was observed that they omitted the received distinction between the sufficiency and efficacy of it; nor did they touch upon the received limitation of those passages, which speaking of Christ's dying for the "whole world," are usually

interpreted of the world of the elect, Dr. Davenant and some of his brethren inclining to the doctrine of universal redemption. In all other points there was a perfect harmony; and even in this Balcanqual says, King James and the Archbishop of Canterbury desired them to comply, though Heylin says, their instructions were not to oppose the doctrine of universal redemption, But Davenant and Ward were for a middle way between the two extremes: they maintained the certainty of the salvation of the elect, and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all who should believe and repent, but to all who heard the gospel; and that grace sufficient to convince and persuade the impenitent, so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves, went along with these offers; that the redemption of Christ and his merits were applicable to these, and consequently there was a possibility of their salvation. However, they complied with the synod, and declared their confession in the main, agreeable to the word of God; but this gave rise to a report some years after, that they had deserted the doctrine of the Church of England.

When the synod was risen, people spake of it in a very different manner; the states of Holland were highly satisfied; they gave handsome rewards to the chief divines, and ordered the original records of their proceedings to be preserved amongst their archives. The English divines expressed full satisfaction in the proceedings of the synod. Baxter says, the christian world since the days of the apostles never had an assembly of more excellent divines. The learned Jacobus Capellus professor of Leyden, declared that the equity of the fathers of this synod was such, that no instance can be given since the apostolic age, of any other synod in which the heretics were heard with more patience, or which proceeded with a better temper, or more sanctity. But the favourers of Arminianism poured contempt upon the synod, and burlesqued their proceedings, and charged them with partiality and unjustifiable severity. Upon the whole, in my judgment, they proceeded with as much discretion and candour as most assemblies ancient or modern have done, who have pretended to establish articles for other men's faith with penal sanctions. I shall

take leave of this venerable body with this further remark, that King James sending over divines to join this assembly, was an open acknowledgement of the validity of ordination by mere presbyters; here being a Bishop of the Church of England sitting as a private member in a synod of divines, of which a mere presbyter was the president.

In the summer of 1617, the King made a progress into Scotland, to advance the episcopal cause in that country; the chapel of Edinburgh was adorned after the manner of Whitehall; pictures being carried from hence together with the statutes of the twelve apostles, which were set up in the church. His Majesty treated his Scots subjects with a haughty distance; telling them both in the parliament and general assembly, "That it was a power innate, a princely special prerogative which christian Kings have, to order and dispose external things in the outward polity of the church, as we with our Bishops shall think fit; and Sirs, for your approving or disapproving; deceive not yourselves, I will not have my reason opposed." Two acts relating to the church were passed this session; one concerning the choice of Archbishops and Bishops, and another for the restitution of chapters; but the ministers protesting against both, several of them were suspended and deprived, and others banished, as the Melvins, Mr. Forbes, &c. and as the famous Mr. Calderwood, author of the *Altare Damascenum*, had been before; which book when one of the English prelates promised to answer, the King replied, "What will you answer man? There is nothing here than scripture, reason, and fathers."

Next year a convention or assembly was summoned to meet at Perth. It consisted of some noblemen, statesmen, barons and burgesses, chosen on purpose to bear down the ministers; and with what violence things were carried, God and all indifferent spectators were witnesses. In this assembly, the court and bishops make a shift to carry the following five articles. That the holy sacrament shall be received kneeling. That ministers shall be obliged to administer the sacrament in private houses to the sick, if they desire it. That ministers may baptize

children privately at home, in cases of necessity, only certifying it to the congregation the next Lord's day. That ministers shall bring such children of their parish as can say their catechism, and repeat the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, to the Bishops to confirm and give them their blessing. That the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Ascension of our Saviour, shall for the future be commemorated in the kirk of Scotland. The King ordered these articles to be published at the market-crosses of the several boroughs, and the ministers to read them in their pulpits; which the greatest number of the latter refused, there being no penalty, except the King's displeasure: but the vote of the assembly at Perth not being sufficient to establish these articles into a law, it was resolved to use all the interest of the court to carry them through the parliament. This was not attempted till 1621, when the parliament meeting on the first of June, the ministers had prepared a supplication against the five articles, giving reasons why they should not be received or confirmed, and came to Edinburgh in great numbers to support it. Upon this, the King's commissioner, by advice of the bishops and council, issued a proclamation, commanding all ministers to depart out of Edinburgh within twenty hours, except the settled ministers of the city, and such as should have a licence from the Bishop. The ministers obeyed, leaving behind them a protestation against the articles, and an admonition to the members of parliament not to ratify them, as they would answer it in the day of judgment. They alleged, that the assembly of Perth was illegal, and that the articles were against the privileges of the kirk, and the established laws of the kingdom: but the court interest prevailed, and with much difficulty the articles were ratified, contrary to the sense of the kirk and nation. This bred a great deal of ill blood, and raised a new persecution throughout the kingdom, many of the presbyterian ministers being fined, imprisoned, and banished by the high commission, at a time when by their interest with the people, it was in their power to have turned their task-masters out of the kingdom.

Thus far James proceeded towards the restitution of

episcopacy in Scotland; but one thing was still wanting to complete the work, which was a public liturgy, or book of common-prayer. Several consultations were held upon this head: but the King being assured it would occasion an insurrection over the whole kingdom, wisely dropped it, leaving that unhappy work to be finished by his son, whose imposing it upon the kirk, without consent of parliament or general assembly, set fire to the discontents of the people, which had been gathering for so many years.

To return to England. This year the learned Mr. Selden was summoned before the high commission for publishing his "History of Tythes," in which he proves them not to be of divine but human appointment; and after many threatnings, was obliged to sign his recantation. But notwithstanding his submission, Fuller says, it is certain that a fiercer storm never fell upon all parsonage barns since the reformation, than what was raised by this treatise; nor did Mr. Selden quickly forget their stopping his mouth after this manner.

This year died Mr. W. Bradshaw, born at Bosworth in Leicestershire, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was afterwards removed, and admitted fellow of Sidney College, where he got an easy admission into the ministry, being dispensed with in some things that he scrupled. He preached first as a lecturer at Abington and then at Steeple-Morton. At length by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton, he was settled at Chatham in Kent, but before he had been there a twelve-month, he was sent for by the Archbishop to Shorne, a town situate between Rochester and Gravesend, and commanded to subscribe; which he refusing was immediately suspended. The inhabitants of Chatham, in their petition for his restoration, say, that his doctrine was most wholesome, true, and learned, void of faction and contention; and his life so garnished with unblemished virtues and graces, as malice itself could not reprove him. But all intercessions were to no purpose: He therefore removed into another diocese, where he obtained a licence, and at length was chosen lecturer of Christ's church in London. Here he published a treatise against the ceremonies, for which he was obliged to leave the city. The Bishop's

chancellor followed him with an inhibition to preach, but by mediation of two friends, the restraint was taken off. In this silent and melancholy retirement he spent the vigour and strength of his days. At length, he was seized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was full of heavenly expressions in his last sickness, and died with great satisfaction in his non-conformity, Bishop Hall gives him this character: "That he was of a strong brain, and of a free spirit, not suffering himself for small differences of judgment, to be alienated from his friends, to whom notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity. He was very strong and eager in arguing, hearty in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliments, a lover of reality, full of digested and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's vineyard, and now no doubt gloriously rewarded.

In order to put a stop to the growth of puritanism, and silence the objections of papists against the strictness of the reformed religion; his Majesty this year published a declaration to encourage recreations and sports on the Lord's day, contrary to his proclamation in the first year of his reign, and to the articles of the church of Ireland, ratified under the great seal, in which the morality of the Lord's day is affirmed. It was drawn up by Bishop Moreton, and is to this effect; "That for his good people's recreation, his Majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor having of May-games, whitsun-ales, or morrice dances, or setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only; as bear-baiting, bull-bating, interludes, and at all times, in the meaner sort of people prohibited,

bowling." Two or three restraints were annexed to the declaration, which deserve the reader's notice, 1. No recusant that is, papist, was to have the benefit of this declaration. 2. Nor such as were not present at the whole of divine service. 3. Nor such as did not keep to their own parish churches, that is, puritans. This declaration was ordered to be read in all the parish churches of Lancashire, and Wilson adds that it was to be read in all the churches of England; but that Archbishop Abbot being at Croydon, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an imprudent project, as well as a grief to all sober protestants; and had the King insisted upon its being read throughout all the churches at this time, I am apt to think it would have produced the same convulsions, as it did about fifteen years afterwards.

This year and the next proved fatal to the protestant interest in Germany, by the loss of the Palatinate into the hands of the papists, and the ruin of the Elector Frederick Fifth, of Bohemia, who had married the King's only daughter.

Among the Brownists in Holland we have mentioned Mr. J. Robinson, of leyden, the father of the Independents, whose numerous congregation being on the decline, by their aged members dying off, and their children marrying into Dutch families, they consulted how to preserve their church and religion; and at length, after several solemn addresses to heaven for direction, the younger part of the congregation resolved to remove into some part of America, under the protection of the King of England, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and be capable of encouraging their friends and countrymen to follow them. Accordingly they sent over agents into England, who having obtained a patent from the crown, agreed with several merchants to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr. Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents sailed into Holland with their own ship, to take in as many of the congregation as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freighting with all

necessaries for the new plantation. All things being ready, Mr. Robinson observed a day of fasting and prayer with his congregation, and took his leave of the adventurers with a truly generous and christian exhortation.

On the first of July the adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whither Mr. Robinson and the ancients of his congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutal embraces, Mr. Robinson kneeled down on the sea shore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and blessing of heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who having joined their other ship, and sailed for New England, but one of their vessels proving leaky, they left it, and embarked in one vessel, which arrived at Cape Cod. Sad was the condition of these poor men, who had the winter before them, and no accommodations at land for their entertainment; most of them were in a weakly sickly condition with the voyage, but there was no remedy; they therefore manned their long-boat, and having coasted the shore, at length found a tolerable harbour, where they landed their effects, and on the 25th of December began to build a store-house, and some small cottages to preserve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land, for lodgings and gardens, in proportion to the number of persons of which it consisted; and to prevent disputes, the situation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed likewise upon some laws for their civil and military government, and having chosen a governor, they called the place of their settlement by the name of new Plymouth.

Inexpressible were the hardships these new planters underwent the first winter; a sad mortality raged among them, occasioned by the fatigues of their late voyage, by the severity of the weather, and their want of necessaries. The country was full of woods and thickets; their poor cottages could not keep them warm; they had no physician, or wholesome food, so that within two or three months, half their company was dead, and of them who remained alive which were about fifty, not above six or seven at a time capable of helping the rest; but as the

spring came on they recovered, and having received some fresh supplies from their friends in England, they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America, which from that time as proved an Asylum for the protestant non-conformists under all their oppressions.

To return to England. Though the King had so lately expressed a zeal for the doctrines of Calvin at the synod of Dort, it now appeared that he had shaken them off, by his advancing the most zealous Arminians, at Buckridge, Neile, Harsnet and Laud, to some of the best bishoprics in the kingdom. These divines apprehending their principles hardly consistent with the thirty-nine articles fell in with the prerogative, and covered themselves under the wing of his Majesty's pretensions to unlimited power, which gave rise to a new distinction at court between *church* and *state puritans*. All were puritans with King James, who stood by the laws of the land in opposition to his arbitrary government, though otherwise never so good churchmen; these were puritans in the state, as those who scrupled the ceremonies, and espoused the doctrines of Calvin, were in the church. The church puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by those who stood by the constitution, they became the majority of the nation. To balance these, the King protected and countenanced the Arminians and Papists, who joined heartily with the prerogative, and became a state faction against the old English constitution. The parties being thus formed grew up into a hatred of each other. All who opposed the King's arbitrary measures were called at court by the name of Puritans; and those that stood by the crown in opposition to the parliament, went by the names of Papists and Arminians. These were the deeds of those factions, which occasioned all the disturbances in the following reign.

The Palatinate being lost, and the King's son-in-law, and daughter forced to take sanctuary in Holland, the whole world murmured at his Majesty's indolence, both as a father and a protestant; these murmurs obliged him at length to have recourse to a parliament, from whom he hoped to squeeze a little money to spend upon his plea-

sures; at the opening of the session his Majesty told them, that they were no other than his council, to give him advice as to what he should ask. It is the King, says he, that makes laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the commonwealth. With regard to his tolerating popery, on the account of his son's match, he professes, he will do nothing but what shall be for the good of religion, and as to the Palatinate he says, if he cannot get it restored by fair means, his crown, his blood, and his son's blood, shall be spent for its recovery. He therefore commands them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and speedy in giving him money. Though the parliament did not credit the King's speech, yet the occasion was so reasonable, that the commons immediately voted him two entire subsidies, and the clergy three; but finding his Majesty awed by the Spaniard, and making no preparation for war, they began to enquire into grievances, upon which the King adjourned the houses; (a power not claimed by any of his predecessors.) But upon the day of adjournment the commons drew up a declaration, wherein they say, "That being touched with a true sense and fellow-feeling of the sufferings of the King's children, and of the true professors of the same christian religion professed by the church of England in foreign parts, as members of the same body, they unanimously declare that they will be ready, to the utmost of their power both with their lives and fortunes, to assist his Majesty so, as that he may be able to do that with the sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected."

Upon their re-assembling, finding the King still amused by the Spanish match, while the protestant interest in the Palatinate was expiring, the commons drew up a long remonstrance, in which they represent the danger of the protestant religion from the growth of popery; from the open resort of papists to the ambassador's chapels; from the frequent and numerous conventicles both in city and country; from the interposing of foreign ambassadors in their favour; from the compounding of their forfeitures for such small sums of money as amounts to little less than

a toleration; from the education of gentlemen's children in popish seminaries, and the licentious printing and publishing popish books; wherefore they pray his Majesty to take his sword in hand for the recovery of the Palatinate, to put the laws in execution against papists, to break off the Spanish match, and to marry his son to a protestant prince. The King hearing of this remonstrance, sent the speaker a letter from New-market to acquaint the house, that "He absolutely forbid their meddling with any thing concerning his government, or with his son's match;" and to keep them in awe, his Majesty declared, that "He thinks himself at liberty to punish any man's misdemeanor's in parliament, as well during their sitting, as after, which he means not to spare hereafter upon occasion of any man's insolent behaviour in the house." In answer to this letter, the commons drew up a petition to present with their remonstrance, in which they insist upon the laws of their country, and the freedom of debates in parliament. The King returned them a long answer, which concludes with denying them, what they call "Their ancient and undoubted right and inheritance." The commons in debate upon his Majesty's answer, drew up a protestation in maintenance of their claim, and caused it to be entered in their journal. Upon this the King being come to London, declared in council the protestation to be null, and with great indignation tore it out of the book with his own hand. A few days after he dissolved the parliament, and issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to talk of state affairs. He also committed the leading members to prison.

The King having parted with his parliament, was at liberty to gratify the Spaniard, by indulging the papists; for this purpose the Lord keeper Williams, by his Majesty's command, wrote to all the judges, that in their several circuits they discharge all prisoners for church recusancy; or for refusing the oath of supremacy; or for dispersing popish books; or hearing or saying mass: or for any other point of recusancy that concerned religion only. Accordingly the jesuits and popish recusants of all sorts were enlarged, to the number of four thousand; all prosecutions were stayed, and the penal laws suspended.

Upon this, great numbers of jesuits, and other missionaries flocked into England; mass was celebrated openly in the countries; and in London their private assemblies were so crowded, that at a meeting in Black-Friars, the floor sunk under them and killed the preacher and ninety-three of the hearers.

While the papists were countenanced, the court and the new Bishops bore hard upon the puritans, filling the pulpits with men of arbitrary principles, and punishing those who dared to preach for the rights of the subject. Mr. Knight of Broadgate-hall, in a sermon before the university of Oxford, on 2 Kings xix. 9. advanced this proposition, that "Subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the commonwealth, and the true religion in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following. 1. When the chief magistrate turns tyrant. 2. When he forces his subjects upon blasphemy or idolitry. 3. When any intolerable burdens or pressures are laid upon them. And, 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their consciences." The court being informed of this sermon sent for the preacher, and asked him, what authority he had for his assertion? he answered, Paræus on Romans xiiiith, but that his principal authority was King James himself, who was sending assistance to the Rochellers against their natural prince. Upon this bold answer Mr. Knight was confined in the Gate-house; Paræus's commentaries were burnt at Oxford and London; his assertions were condemned as false and seditious: and the university of Oxford in full convocation passed a decree, "That it was not lawful for subjects to appear offensively in arms against their King on the score of religion, or on any other account, according to the scripture."—How this was reconcilable with the King's assisting the French Huguenots, I must leave with the reader. But to bind the nation down for ever in principles of slavery, all graduates of the university of Oxford were enjoined to subscribe the above mentioned decree, and to swear, that they would ALWAYS CONTINUE OF THE SAME

OPINION. Was there ever such an unreasonable oath? Yet such was the severity and magness of the times!

But to distress the puritans more effectually, the King sent some directions to the Archbishop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province. In these directions there was nothing that could affect papists or arminians, but almost every article pointed at the puritans. The King had assisted in maintaining the very doctrines in Holland, which he forbids to be propagated in England. The thirty-nine articles were established by law, and yet not under a Bishop or dean may preach on the seventeenth, concerning predestination. The ministers of God's word may not limit the prerogative, but they may preach concerning its unlimited extent; and though the second injunction admits of their expounding the catechism, Fuller says, the Bishops' officials were so active, that in many places they tied up preachers in the afternoon to the very letter of the catechism, allowing them no liberty to expound or enlarge upon any of the answers. The puritans had suffered hitherto only for the neglect of ceremonies, but now their very doctrine is an offence. From this time, all Calvinists were in a manner excluded from court preferments. The way to rise in the church, was to preach up the absolute power of the King, to declaim against the rigours of calvinism, and to speak favourably of popery. Those who scrupled this, were neglected, and distinguished by the name of doctrinal puritans; but it was the glory of this people that they stood together, like a wall, against the arbitrary proceedings of the King, both in church and state.

Archbishop Abbot was at the head of the doctrinal puritans; and often advised the King to return to the old parliamentary way of raising money: this cost him his interest at court; and an accident happened this year, which quite broke his spirits, and made him retire from the world. Lord Zouch invited his grace to a buck-hunting in Bramshill-park in Hampshire; and while the keeper was running among the deer to bring them to a fairer mark, the Archbishop sitting on horseback, let fly a barbed arrow, which shot him under the arm-pit, and killed him dead upon the spot. His grace was so distressed in mind

with the accident, that he retired to one of his own almshouses at Guildford; and though upon examination of the case, it was judged casual homicide, he kept that day as a fast as long as he lived; and allowed the keeper's widow twenty pounds a year for her maintainance. The King also being moved with compassion, sent for him to Lambeth, and gave him a royal pardon and dispensation to prevent all exceptions to his episcopal character; but he prudently withdrew from the council board, were his advice had been little regarded before, as coming from a person of unfashionable principles.

The puritans lost an eminent practical writer and preacher about this time, Nicholas Byfield, born in Warwickshire, and educated in Exeter College, Oxford. After four years, he left the university, and went for Ireland; but preaching at Chester, the inhabitants gave him an unanimous invitation to St. Peter's church in that city, where he resided seven years. From thence he removed to Isleworth in Middlesex, and remained there till his death, which was occasioned by the stone. His body being opened, a stone was taken out of his bladder, that weighed thirty-three ounces, and was in measure about the edge, fifteen inches and a half; about the length and breadth thirteen inches, and solid like a flint; an almost incredible relation! But Dr. Gouge, who drew up this account, was an eye-witness of it, with many others. Mr. Byfield was a calvinist, a non-conformist to the ceremonies, and a strict observer of the sabbath. He published several books in his life time; and his commentaries upon the Colossians and St. Peter, published after his death, shew him to be a divine of great piety, capacity and learning.

The Archbishop being in disgrace, the council were unanimous, and met with no interruption in their proceedings. The puritans retired to the new plantations in America, and popery came in like an armed man. This was occasioned partly by the new promotions at court, but chiefly by the Spanish match, which was begun about 1617, and drawn out to a length of seven years, till the palatinate was lost, and the protestant religion in a manner extirpated

out of the kingdom of Bohemia and other parts of Germany; and then the match itself was broke off. But it may be proper here to trace this affair from its beginning, because it was the source of the ensuing calamities of this and the following reign. Prince Charles being arrived at the state of manhood, the King had thoughts of marrying him, but could find no protestant princes of an equal rank. He despised the princes of Germany, and would hear of nothing beneath a King's daughter. This put him upon seeking a wife for him out of the house of Austria, sworn enemies to the protestant religion; for which purpose he entered into a treaty with Spain for the Infanta. Under colour of this match, Gondamar the Spanish Ambassador, made the King do whatever he pleased. If he inclined to assist his son-in-law in recovering the Palatinate, he was told he must keep fair with the house of Austria; or the match was at an end. If he denied any favours to the papists at home, the court of Rome, and all the Roman catholic powers were disobliged, and then it could never take place. To obviate these and other objections, his Majesty promised upon the word of a King, that no Roman catholic should be proceeded against capitally; and though he could not at present repeal the pecuniary laws, that he would mitigate them to the satisfaction of the catholic King; and the length his Majesty went in favour of papists on this occasion, will appear by the following articles, which were inserted both into the Spanish and French treaty, which afterwards took place.

The articles of the intended Spanish match relating to religion, were these. Art. 6. The Infanta herself, her servants, her children and descendents, and all their families, serving her highness, may freely and publicly profess themselves catholics. Art. 5, 7, and 8. Provide a church, a chapel, and an oratory for her highness, with all popish ornaments utensils and decorations. 10. and 11. Allow her twenty-four priests and assistants, and over them a Bishop, with full authority and spiritual jurisdiction. 13. Admits the Infanta and her servants to procure from Rome dispensations, indulgences, jubilees, &c. and all graces, as shall seem meet to them. 16. Provides that the laws made against Roman catholics in England, or in

any of the King's dominions, shall not extend to the children of this marriage ; nor shall they lose their succession to the crown, although they be Roman catholics. Authorizes the Infanta to choose nurses for her children, and to bring them up in her religion till they are ten years of age. But the term was afterwards enlarged to twelve ; and in the match with France, to thirteen.

King James swore to the observation of these articles, in the presence of the two Spanish ambassadors, and twenty-four privy-counsellors, who set their hands to the treaty. Besides which, his Majesty and the Prince of Wales swore to the four following private ones, 1. That no laws against papist should hereafter be put in execution. 2. That no new laws shall be made against them ; but that there shall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman catholic religion in private houses, throughout all his Majesty's dominions. which his council shall swear to. 3. That he will never persuade the Infanta to change her religion. 4. That he will use all his authority and influence to have these conditions ratified by parliament, that so all penal laws against papists may not only be suspended, but legally disannulled.

The words of the Prince of Wales's oath were these :—
“ I Charles, Prince of Wales, engage myself, that all things contained in the foregoing articles, which concern as well the suspension as abrogation of all laws made against Roman catholics, shall within three years infallibly take effect, and sooner if possible ; which we will have to lie upon our conscience and royal honour. And I will intercede with my father that the ten years of education of the children that shall be born of this marriage, which the Pope of Rome desires may be lengthened to twelve, shall be prolonged to the said term. And I swear, that if the entire power of disposing this matter be devolved upon me, I will grant and approve of the said term. Furthermore, as oft as the Infanta shall desire that I should give ear to divines and others, whom her highness shall be pleased to employ in matters of the Roman catholic religion, I will hearken to them willingly, without all difficulties, and laying aside all excuses.”

Under these advantages, the papists appeared openly,

and behaved with an offensive insolence; but the hearts of all true protestants trembled for themselves and their posterity. And Archbishop Abbot, though under a cloud, ventured to write to the King upon the subject; beseeching him to consider, "Whether by the toleration which his Majesty proposes, he is not setting up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon? How hateful must this be to God, and grievous to your good subjects, says he, that your Majesty, who hath learnedly written against these wicked heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those doctrines, which your pen has told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. Besides, this toleration which you endeavour to set up by proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament, unless your Majesty will let your subjects see that you will take a liberty to throw down the laws at your pleasure. And above all, I beseech your Majesty to consider, lest by this toleration your Majesty do not draw upon the kingdom in general, and on yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation."—But this wise King, instead of hearkening to the remonstrances of his protestant subjects, put the peace of his kingdom, and the whole protestant religion, into the hands of the Spaniard, by sending his son with the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to fetch home the Infanta; a piece of confidence that the Solomon of the age should not have been guilty of. When the prince was gone, it is said, that Archy, the King's fool, clapped his cap upon the King's head. The King asking him the reason, he answered, because he had sent the prince into Spain. But says his Majesty, what if he should come back safe? Why then, says Archy, "I will take my cap off from your head, and put it on the King of Spain's."

The Spaniards gave out, that the design of the Prince's journey was to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome. It is certain the Pope wrote to the Bishop of Conchen, to lay hold of this opportunity to convert him; and directed a most persuasive letter to the Prince himself to the same purpose, which the Prince answered in a very obliging manner, giving the Pope the title of MOST HOLY FATHER,

and encouraging him to expect, that when he came to the crown there should be but one religion in his dominions, seeing says he, that both catholics and protestants believe in one Jesus Christ. He was strongly solicited to change his religion by some of the first quality, and by the most learned priests and jesuits, who caressed his highness with speeches, dedicated books to him, invited him to their processions, and gave him a view of their most magnificent churches and reliques; by which artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his resolution of attempting a coalition of the two churches; for the attempting of which he afterwards lost both his crown and life. It was happy, after all, that the Prince got safe out of the Spanish territories; which as Spanheim observes, that politic court would not have permitted, had they not considered, that the Queen of Bohemia, next heir to the crown, was a greater enemy to popery than her brother. But after all, when this memorable treaty of marriage had been upon the carpet seven years, and wanted nothing but celebration, the portion being settled, the Pope's dispensation obtained, the marriage articles sworn to on both sides, and the very day of consummation by proxy appointed, it was broke off by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham upon the Prince, who ordered the Earl of Bristol not to deliver the proxy till the time limited by the dispensation was expired; the King of Spain suspecting the design, in order to throw all the blame upon the King of England, signed a promise with his own hand and delivered it to the ambassador, wherein he obliged himself to cause the Palatinate to be restored to the elector Palatine, in case the marriage took effect; but his highness was immoveable, and obliged the King to recal his ambassador.

From this time the Prince and Duke seemed to turn puritans, the latter having taken Dr. Preston, one of their chief ministers, into his service, to consult him about alienating the dean and chapter lands to the purposes of preaching. They also advised the King to convene a parliament, which his Majesty did, and made such a speech to them, as one would think impossible to come from the same lips with the former. I assure you, says he, speaking of the Spanish match, on the faith of a christian King,

that it is *res integra* presented unto you, and that I stand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised. His Majesty adds,—“ I can truly say, and will avouch it before the seat of God and angels, that never King governed with a purer, sincerer, and more uncorrupt heart than I have done; far from ill-will and meaning of the least error and imperfection in my reign. It has been talked of my remissness in maintenance of religion, and suspicion of a toleration of popery, but as God shall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expressed any thing that savoured of it. I never in my treatise agreed to any thing to the overthrow and disannulling of those laws, but had in all a chief regard to the preservation of that truth which I have ever professed.”—The reader will remember how this agrees with the marriage articles above mentioned, to which the King had sworn.

But the parliament taking things as the King had represented them, advised his Majesty to break off the match, and to declare war for the recovery of the Palatinate; and at the same time petitioned his Majesty, that all jesuits and seminary priests might be commanded to depart the realm; that the laws might be put in execution against popish recusants; that all such might be removed from court, and ten miles from London. To which the King made this remarkable answer, which must strike the reader with surprize and wonder,—“ What religion I am of my books declare; I wish it may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion; for he that dissembles with God is not to be trusted with men. I protest before God, that, my heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of popery. God is my judge, it hath been such a grief to me, that it has been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my sides. It hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an honest man, if I had done otherwise. I will order the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants as they were before these treaties, for the laws are still in being, and were never dispensed with by me; God is my judge, they were never so intended by me.”—What solemn appeals to

heaven are these, against the clearest and most undeniable facts! It requires a good degree of charity, to believe this prince had either religion or conscience remaining. For though he assured his parliament, that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increase of popery, yet this very parliament presented him with a list of fifty-seven popish lords and knights who were in public offices, none of whom were displaced, while the puritan ministers were driven out of the kingdom, and hardly a gentleman of that character advanced to the dignity of a justice of peace.

The parliament being prorogued, the King instead of going heartily into the war, or marrying his son to a protestant princess, entered into a treaty with Lewis XIII. for his sister Henrietta Maria. Upon this occasion the Archbishop of Ambrun was sent into England, who told the King, the best way to accomplish the match for his son, was to grant a full toleration to catholics. The King replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an assembly of divines to compromise the difference between protestants and papists, and promised to send a letter to the Pope to bring him into the project. In this letter, the King styles the Pope Christ's vicar, and head of the church universal, and assures him, he would declare himself a catholic as soon as he could provide against the inconveniences of such a declaration; but whether this was so or not, it is certain he immediately relaxed the penal laws against papists, and permitted Ambrun to administer confirmation to ten thousand catholics at the door of the French ambassador's house, in the presence of a great concourse of people. In the mean time, the treaty of marriage went forwards, and was at last signed, in the thirty-three public articles, and three secret ones, wherein the very same, or greater advantages, were stipulated for the catholics than in those of Madrid; but before the dispensation from the Pope could be obtained, his Majesty fell sick at Theobalds of a certain ague, which put an end to his life, not without suspicion of poison, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

To review the course of this reign; it is evident that both popery and puritanism increased prodigiously, while the friends of the hierarchy sunk into contempt; this was owing partly to the spiritual promotions, and partly to the

arbitrary maxims of state that the King had advanced. In promoting of Bishops the King discovered a greater regard to such as would yield a servile compliance to his absolute commands, than to such as would fill their sees with reputation, and be an example to the people of religion and virtue. The fashionable doctrines at court were such as the King had condemned at the synod of Dort, and which in the opinion of the old English clergy, were subversive of the reformation. The new Bishops admitted the church of Rome to be a true church, and the Pope, the first Bishop of Christendom. They declared for the lawfulness of images in churches; for the real presence; and that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a school nicety. They pleaded for confession to a priest; for sacerdotal absolution, and the proper merit of good works. They gave up the morality of the sabbath, and the five distinguishing points of calvinism, for which their predecessors had contended. They claimed an uninterrupted succession of the episcopal character from the apostles through the church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her ordinations, when they denied the validity of those of the foreign protestants. Further, they began to imitate the church of Rome in her gaudy ceremonies, in the rich furniture of their chapels, and the pomp of their worship. They complimented the Roman catholic priests with their dignitary titles, and spent all their zeal in studying how to compromise matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old protestant doctrines of the reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or instructing the people in christian knowledge.

Things were come to such a pass, that Gondamar the Spanish Ambassador wrote to Spain, that there never was more hopes of England's conversion. for "there are more prayers, says he, offered to the mother than to the son of God." The priests and jesuits challenged the established clergy to public disputations; the Duke of Buckingham's mother being a papist, a conference was held in her presence between Fisher a jesuit on the one part, and Drs. White, Williams, and Laud on the other. Each of them disputed with the jesuit a day before a great concourse of

people, but not to the countess's conversion, which was not at all strange upon their principles. Amongst other popish books that were published, one was entitled, "A new gag for the old gospel; which Dr. Montague, rector of Stamford Rivers answered in such a manner, as gave great offence to the old clergy, yielding up all the points above-mentioned, and not only declaring for Arminianism, but making dangerous advances towards popery itself. The book occasioning a great noise, Messrs. Ward and Yates, two ministers at Ipswich, made a collection of the popish and arminian tenets it contained, in order to lay them before the next parliament; but the author, with the King's leave, took shelter under the royal wing, and prepared for the press, his "*Apello Cæsarem*," or a just appeal from two unjust informers. However, before the book was published the King died.

These advances of the court divines towards popery, made most of the people fall in with the puritans, who being constant preachers, and of exemplary lives, wrought them up by their awakening sermons to an abhorrence of every thing that looked that way. Many of the nobility and gentry favoured them. Lady Bowes, afterwards Lady Darcy, gave a thousand pounds per annum, to maintain preachers in the north, where there were none, and all her preachers were silenced non-conformists. Almost all the famous practical writers of this reign, except Bishop Andrews, were puritans, and sufferers for non-conformity, and their works have done great service to religion. The character of these divines was the reverse of what Selden gives to the clergy of these times, in his history of tithes, where he taxes them with ignorance and laziness. Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. Coke, the puritan party had gathered so much strength, and was in such reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the kingdom put together.

With regard to King James himself, it is hard to draw his just character, for no prince was ever so much flattered who so little deserved it. He was of a middle stature, not very corpulent, but stuffed out with clothes; which hung so loose, and being quilted, were so thick, as to resist a dagger. His countenance was homely, and

his tongue too big for his mouth, so that he could not speak with decency. While he was in Scotland he appeared sober and chaste, and acquired a good degree of learning, but upon his accession to the English crown he threw off the mask, and by degrees gave himself up to luxury and ease, and all kinds of licentiousness. His language was obscene, and his actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane swearer, and would often be drunk, and when he came to himself would weep like a child, and say, he hoped God would not impute his infirmities to him. He valued himself upon what he called **KING-CRAFT**, which was nothing else but deep hypocrisy and dissimulation in every character of life, resulting from the excessive timorousness of his nature. If we consider him as a King, he never did a great or generous action throughout the course of his reign, but prostituted the honour of the nation beyond any of his predecessors. He stood still while the protestant religion was suppressed in France, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany. He surrendered up the cautionary towns to the Dutch for less than a fourth part of the value, and suffered them to dispossess us of our factories in the East-Indies. At home he committed the direction of all affairs in church and state to two or three favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no trouble. He broke through all the laws of the land, and was as absolute a tyrant as his want of courage would admit. He revived the projects of monopolies, loans, benevolences, &c. to supply his exchequer, which was exhausted by his profuseness towards his favourites, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his son's reign. Upon the whole, though he was flattered by hungry courtiers as the Solomon and Phoenix of his age, he was in the opinion of Bishop Burnet, "the scorn of the age, a mere pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness; his reign being a continued course of mean practices."

It is hard to make any judgment of his religion, for one while he was a puritan, and then a zealous churchman; at first a calvinist and presbyterian, afterwards a remonstrant or arminian, and at last a half, if not an entire doctrinal papist. Sir R. Winwood says, that as long ago

as 1596, he sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots baron, to Spain, to assure his catholic Majesty he was ready to turn papist, and to propose an alliance with that King and the Pope against the Queen of England; but for reasons of state the affair was hushed. Rapin says he was neither a sound protestant, nor a good catholic, but had formed a plan of uniting both churches, which must effectually have ruined the protestant interest, for which indeed he never expressed any real concern. I am rather of opinion that all his religion was his boasted King-craft. He was certainly the meanest prince that ever sat upon the British throne: England never sunk in its reputation, nor was so much exposed to the scorn and ridicule of its neighbours, as in his reign. How willing his Majesty was to unite with the papist the foregoing history has discovered; and yet in the presence of many Lords, and in a very remarkable manner, he made a solemn protestation, "That he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than his own, the protestant, that God would take them out of the world." How far this imprecation took place on himself or any of his posterity must be left to the determination of an omniscient Being.

CHAP. I.

CHARLES I.

Character of Charles I.—Character of his Queen.—Of Abp. Laud :—Of the Judges.—State of Arminianism.—Of Popery.—Loss of Rochelle.—Arbitrary methods of raising Money.—King's Coronation.—A New Parliament.—Restraint of the Press.—Abp. Abbot suspended.—War with France.—Petition of Right.—Parliament's remonstrance.—Irish Bishops protest against the Toleration of Popery.—Proceedings with the Parliament.—Members taken into Custody.—King's speech at the Dissolution of Parliament.—Remarks.—Libels against Laud.—The King's reasons for dissolving Parliament.—Proclamation against prescribing a Time for calling Parliaments.—Death and Character of Dr. Preston.

BEFORE we enter upon this reign, it will be proper to take a short view of the court, and of the most active ministers under King Charles First, for the first fifteen years. The King came to the crown at the age of twenty-five years, being born at Dumferling in Scotland, in the year 1600, and baptised by a presbyterian minister of that country. In this youth, he was of a weakly constitution, and stammering speech; his legs were somewhat crooked, and he was suspected (says Mr. Eachard) to be of a perverse nature. When his father, King James, came to the English crown, he took him from his Scots tutors, and placed him under those who gave him an early aversion to that kirk, and to those doctrines of christianity, which they held in the greatest veneration. As the court of James leaned towards popery and arbitrary power, so did

the Prince, especially after his journey into Spain; where he imbibed not only the pernicious maxims of that court, but their reserved and distant behaviour. He began his reign upon most arbitrary principles, and though he had good natural abilities, was always under the direction of some favourite, to whose judgment and conduct he was absolutely resigned. Nor was he ever master of so much judgment in politics, as to discern his own and the nation's true interest, or to take the advice of those who did. With regard to the church, he was a punctual observer of its ceremonies, and had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his subjects who were against the ecclesiastical constitution.

Upon his Majesty's accession, and before the solemnity of his father's funeral, he married HENRIETTA MARIA, daughter of Henry Fourth, and sister of Lewis Twelfth. The marriage was solemnized by proxy; first at Paris, with all the ceremonies of the Romish church, and afterwards at Canterbury, according to the rites of the church of England; the articles being in a manner the same with those already mentioned in the Spanish match. Her Majesty arrived at Dover, June 13, and brought with her a long train of priests and menial servants of the Romish religion; for whose devotions a chapel was fitted up in the King's house at St. James's. The Queen was agreeable, beautiful, and possessed of great vivacity; by which she obtained an unusual influence with the King, who held her in perfect adoration. But she loved intrigues, without any manner of judgment in contrivance or execution, this match was a greater judgment to the nation than the plague, which then raged in the land; for considering the malignity of the popish religion, the imperiousness of the French government, the influence of a stately Queen, and the share she must needs have in the education of her children, it was easy to foresee it might prove very fatal to our English Prince and people, and lay in a vengeance to future generations. The Queen was a very great bigot to her religion; her conscience was directed by her confessor, assisted by the Pope's nuncio, and a secret cabal of priests and jesuits. These controuled the Queen,

and she the King; so that in effect the nation was governed by popish councils, till the long parliament.

The prime minister under the King was VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham; a graceful young gentleman, but very unfit for his high station. He had a full possession of the King's heart, insomuch that his Majesty broke measures with all his parliaments for his sake. Upon the Duke's death, Laud, then Bishop of London, became the chief minister both in church and state. He was born at Reading, and educated in St. John's College, Oxford, upon the charitable donation of Mr. White, founder of Merchant Taylor's school. Here he continued till he was fifty years of age, and behaved in such a manner, that nobody knew what to think of him. I would I knew (says the pious Bishop Hall in one of his letters) where to find you; to-day you are with the Romanists, to-morrow with us; our adversaries think you ours, and we theirs; your conscience finds you with both and neither: how long will you halt in this indifferency? By the interest of Bishop Williams, he was first advanced to a Welsh bishopric, and from thence by degrees to the highest preferments in church and state. He was a little man, of a quick and rough temper, impatient of contradiction even at the council table, of arbitrary principles both in church and state, always inclined to methods of severity, especially against the puritans: vastly fond of external pomp and ceremony in divine worship; and though he was not an absolute papist, he was ambitious of being the sovereign patriarch of three kingdoms.

Lord Chief Justice FINCH was a man of little knowledge in his profession, except it was for making the laws of the land give place to orders of council. Mr. Attorney-General Noy was a man of affected pride and morosity, who valued himself upon making that to be law which all other men believed not to be so. Indeed all the judges were of this stamp, who instead of upholding the law, as the defence and security of the subject's privileges, set it aside upon every little occasion, distinguishing between a rule of law, and a rule of government: so that those whom they could not convict by statute law, were sure to suffer by the rule of government, or a kind of political

justice. The judges held their places during the King's pleasure: and when the prerogative was to be stretched in any particular instances, Laud would send for their opinions before-hand, to give the greater sanction to the proceedings of the council and star-chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that if they did not do his Majesty's business to satisfaction, they would be removed. Upon the whole, they were mercenary men, and scandalous to their profession.

The courts of Westminster-Hall had little to do between the crown and the subject; all business of this kind being transferred to the council table, the star-chamber, and the court of high commission. The Lord-keeper Finch, upon a demurrer put into a bill, that had no other equity than an order of council, declared upon the bench, that while he was keeper, "no man should be so saucy as to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should always be ground good enough for him to make a decree in chancery." Judge Berkeley, upon a like occasion declared, that "there was a rule of law, and a rule of government, that many things that might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of government:" his lordship added, that "no act of parliament could bind the King not to command away his subjects' goods and money." The commissioners not content with the business that was brought before them, sent their commissaries over the whole kingdom, to superintend the proceedings of the bishops' courts in their several dioceses, which of themselves made sufficient havoc among the puritans, and were under a general odium for the severe exercise of their power: but if the Bishop or his officers, were negligent in their citations, or shewed any degree of favour to the puritan ministers, notice was immediately sent to Lambeth, and the accused persons were cited before the high commission, to their utter ruin. They also detained men in prison many months, without bringing them to a trial, or so much as acquainting them with the cause of their commitment. All which was so much the worse, because they knew that the court had no jurisdiction of firing at all; for the

house of commons, in the third and seventh of James First, resolved, that the court of high commission's fining and imprisoning men for ecclesiastical offences, was an intolerable grievance, oppression, and vexation, not warranted by the statute 1 Eliz. chap.1. And Sir E. Coke with the rest of the judges, at a conference with the prelates, in the presence of King James, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that the high commission could fine in no case, and imprison only in cases of heresy and incontinence of a minister, and that only after conviction, but not by way of process before it: so that the jurisdiction of the court to fine was not only questionable, but null and void. Notwithstanding which, they hunted after their prey with full cry.

Upon the accession of Charles to the throne, the Duke of Buckingham threw off the mask, and shook hands with his old friend Dr. Preston, whom he never loved, any further than as a tool to promote his interest among the people. Laud was his confessor and privy-counsellor for the church, whose first care was to have none but arminian and anti-puritanical chaplains about the King: for this purpose, he drew up a small treatise and put it into the Duke's hand, proving the Arminian doctrines to be orthodox; and shewing in ten particulars, that the anti-arminian tenets were no better than doctrinal puritanism. Agreeably to this scheme, he presented the Duke with a list of divines for his Majesty's chaplains, distinguishing their characters by the two capital letters, O. for Orthodox, that is Arminian, and P. for Puritans, that is Calvinists. At the same time, he received orders to consult Bishop Andrews how to manage, with respect to the five distinguishing points of calvinism, in the ensuing convocation; but the wise Bishop advised his brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the controversy out of the house. It was therefore wisely dropt, the majority of the lower house being zealous calvinists; and forty-five of them had made a covenant among themselves to oppose every thing that tended towards pelagianism, or semi-pelagianism: but the controversy was warmly debated without doors, till the King put a stop to it by his royal declaration.

Popery advanced hand in hand with arminianism, and

began the disputes between the King and his first parliament. His Majesty towards the close of his speech, having asked their assistance for the recovery of the Palatinate assured them that though he had been suspected as to his religion, he would let the world see, that none should be more desirous to maintain the religion he professed than himself. The houses thanked the King for his most gracious speech; but before they entered upon other business, joined in a petition against popish recusants.

They pray, that the youth of the kingdom may be educated under protestant school-masters; which his Majesty promised:—That provision might be made against transporting children to popish seminaries, and for recalling those that were there. *Answ.* To this his Majesty agreed. That no popish recusant be admitted to come to court, but upon special occasion according to statute 3. Jam. *Answ.* This also his Majesty promised. That the laws against papists be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all jesuits and seminary priest out of the kingdom, and that no natural-born subject, nor strange Bishops, nor any other by authority from the see of Rome, confer any ecclesiastical orders or exercise any ecclesiastical function upon your Majesty's subjects. *Answ.* It shall be so published by proclamation. That your Majesty's learned council may have orders to consider of all former grants of recusant lands, that such may be avoided as are avoidable by law. *Answ.* It shall be done, according as is desired. That your Majesty give order to your judges and all officers of justice, to see the laws against popish recusants duly executed. *Answ.* His Majesty leaves the laws to their course. That your Majesty will remove from places of authority and government all popish recusants. *Answ.* His Majesty will give order accordingly. That order be taken for disarming all popish recusants convict according to law, and that popish recusants be commanded to retire to their houses, and be confined within five miles of home. *Answ.* The laws shall be put in execution. That none of your Majesty's natural-born subjects go to hear mass at the houses or chapels of

foreign ambassadors. *Ans.* The King will give order accordingly. That the statute of 1 Eliz. for the payment of twelve-pence every Sunday by such as absent from divine service in the church, without a lawful excuse, be put in execution. *Ans.* The King promises the penalties shall not be dispensed with. That your Majesty will extend your princely care to Ireland, that the like courses may be taken there for establishing the true religion. *Ans.* His Majesty will do all that a religious King can do in that affair.

It is surprising that the king should make these promises to his parliament within six months after he had signed his marriage articles, in which he had engaged to set all Roman catholics at liberty, and to suffer no search or molestation of them for their religion, and had in consequence of it pardoned twenty Romish priests. But as a judicious writer observes, it seems to have been a maxim in this and the last reign, that no faith is to be kept with parliaments. The papists were apprized of the reasons of state that obliged the King to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and therefore though his Majesty directed a letter to his Archbishop, to proceed against popish recusants, and a proclamation was published to recal the English youth from popish seminaries, little regard was paid to them. The King himself released eleven Romish priests out of prison, by special warrant the next day; the titular Bishop of Chalcedon, appointed a popish vicar-general and archdeacons all over England. And when the next parliament petitioned for the removal of papists from offices of trust, it appeared, by a list annexed to their petition, that there were no less than fifty-nine of the nobility and gentry of that religion then in the commission.

But the King not only connived at the Roman catholics at home, but unhappily contributed to the ruin of the protestant religion abroad. Cardinal Richlieu having formed a design to extirpate the Hugonots of France, by securing all their places of strength, laid siege to Rochelle, a sea-port town with a good harbour, and a number of ships sufficient for its defence. Richlieu taking advantage of the King's late match with France, sent to borrow seven

or eight ships, to be employed as the King of France should direct, who appointed them to block up the harbour of Rochelle; but when the honest sailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown over-board, or hanged upon the top of the masts, than fight against their protestant brethren. Notwithstanding Admiral Pennington and the French officers used all their rhetoric to persuade them, they remained inflexible. The admiral therefore acquainted the King, who sent him a warrant to the following effect: "That he should consign his own ship immediately into the hands of the French admiral, with all her equipage, artillery, &c. and require the other seven to put themselves into the service of the French King; and in case of backwardness or refusal, to use all forcible means, even to their sinking." In pursuance of this warrant, the ships were delivered into the hands of the French, but all the English sailors and officers deserted except two. The French having got the ships and artillery, quickly manned them with sailors of their own religion, and joined the rest of the French fleet, they blocked up the harbour, destroyed the little fleet of the Rochellers, and cut off their communication by sea with their protestant friends, by which means they were reduced to all the hardships of a most dreadful famine; and after a long blockade both by sea and land, were forced to surrender the chief bulwark of the protestant interest in France, into the hands of the papists.

To return to the parliament; it has been remembered, that Mr. Montague, a clergyman, and one of the King's chaplains, published a book in 1623, entitled "A new gag for an old goose," in answer to a popish book entitled "A gag for the new gospel." The book containing sundry propositions tending to the public disturbance, was complained of in the house of commons, who after having examined the author at their bar, referred him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who dismissed him, with an express prohibition to write no more about such matters. But Montague being encouraged from court, went on and published "An appeal to Cæsar," designing it for King James, but he being dead before it was ready, it was

dedicated to King Charles, and recommended at first by several Bishops, who upon better consideration artfully withdrew their names from before it ; and left Dr. White to appear by himself, as he complained publicly. The appeal was calculated to promote arminianism, to attempt a reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the King's prerogative above law. The house appointed a committee to examine into its errors ; after which they voted it to be contrary to the articles of the church of England, and bound the author in a recognizance of two thousand pounds for his appearance.

Bishop Laud apprehending this to be an invasion of the prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, joined with two other Bishops in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, to engage his Majesty to take the cause into his own hands: this letter had its effect, and procured Montague his *quietus* at present. The King declared he would bring the cause before the council, it being a branch of his supremacy to determine matters of religion. He expressed his displeasure against the commons, for calling his chaplain to their bar, and for alarming the nation with the danger of popery. But these affairs, together with the King's assisting at the siege of Rochelle, made such a noise at Oxford, where the parliament was re-assembled, because of the plague at London, that the King was obliged to dissolve them before they had granted the supplies necessary for carrying on the war. Nor did his Majesty pass any act relating to religion, except one, which was soon after suspended by his royal declaration; it was to prevent unlawful pastimes on the Lord's day. However this law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and censured for too strict an observation of the Lord's day, but none that I have met with for the profanation of it.

His Majesty having dismissed his parliament before they had given him the necessary supplies for the war with Spain, resolved to try his credit in borrowing money, by way of loan, of such persons as were best able to lend ; for this purpose gentlemen were taxed at a certain sum, and had promissory letters under the privy-seal to be repaid in eighteen months. With this money the king

fitted out a fleet against Spain, which after it had waited about two months for the plate-fleet, returned without doing any action worth remembrance.

The ceremony of the King's coronation, was another expence which his Majesty thought fit to provide for by issuing out a proclamation, that all such as had forty pounds a year or more, and were not yet knights, should come and receive the order of knighthood, or compound for it. This was a new grievance loudly complained of, in the following parliaments. The coronation was performed by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Bishop Laud as Dean of Westminster, who besides the old Regalia which were in his custody, that is, the crown, the sceptre, the spurs, &c. of King Edward the confessor, brought forth an old crucifix, and placed it upon the altar. As soon as the Archbishop had put the crown upon the King's head, and performed the other usual ceremonies, his Majesty being seated on the throne, ready to receive the homage of the lords, Bishop Laud came up to him and read the following extraordinary passage, which is not to be found in former coronations. "Stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your fore-fathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Bishops and servants of God. And as you see the clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so remember, that in all places convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords." This and sundry other alterations were objected to the Archbishop at his trial.

The King's treasury being exhausted, and the war continuing with Spain, his Majesty was obliged to call a new parliament; but to avoid the choice of such members as had exclaimed against the Duke of Buckingham, and insisted upon redress of grievances, the court pricked them down for sheriffs, which disqualified them from being re-chosen members of parliament; of this number were Sir E. Coke, Sir R. Philips, and Sir T. Wentworth, after-

wards Lord Strafford. The houses met February sixth, and fell immediately upon grievances. A committee for religion was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was chairman, who examined Mr. Montague's writings, (viz.) his Gag, his Appeal, and his treatise of the Innovation of Saints, out of which they collected several opinions contrary to the book of homilies and the thirty-nine articles, and which they reported to the house. In what manner the common designed to prosecute this impeachment is uncertain, for Montague was not brought to his defence, the King having intimated again to the house, that their proceedings against him without his leave was displeasing to him; that as to their holding him to bail, he thought his servants might have the same protection as an ordinary burgess, and therefore he would take the cause into his own hands; and soon after dissolved the parliament.

Though the arminian controversy was thus wrested out of the hands of parliament, it was warmly debated without doors; Montague was attacked in print from various quarters, and conferences were appointed to debate the print, of the possibility of the elect's falling from grace. But upon the whole, these conferences served rather to increase the differences than abate them. The King therefore issued out a proclamation, containing express commands not to preach or dispute upon the controverted points of arminianism; but the execution of this proclamation being in the hands of Laud, and the bishops of his party, the edge was turned against the puritans, and it became, says Rushworth, the stopping of their mouths, and gave an uncontrouled liberty to the tongues and pens of the arminian party. Others were of opinion, that Laud and Neile procured this injunction, in order to have an opportunity to oppress the calvinists who should venture to break it, while the disobedience to the contrary party should be winked at. The puritans thought they might still write in defence of the received doctrine of the thirty-nine articles, but the press being in the hands of their adversaries, some of their books were suppressed, some were mutilated, and others that got abroad were called in, and the authors and publishers questioned in the star-chamber and high commission, for engaging in a contro-

versy prohibited by the government. By these methods effectual care was taken, that the puritan and calvinian writers should do their adversaries no harm. Bishop Laud, with two or three of his chaplains, undertaking to judge of truth and error, for all the wise and great men of the nation, in doing which they were so shamefully partial, that learning and industry were discouraged, men of gravity and great experience not being able to persuade themselves to submit their labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair. At length the booksellers being almost ruined, preferred a petition to the next parliament, complaining, that the writings of their best authors were stifled in the press, while the books of their adversaries, papists and arminians, were published and spread over the whole kingdom.

The case was just the same with regard to books against popery: the Queen and the Roman catholics must not be *insulted*, and therefore all offensive passages, such as calling the Pope *antichrist*, the church of Rome *no true church*, and every thing tending to expose images in churches, crucifixes, penance, auricular confession, and popish absolution, must be expunged. Terrible were the triumphs of arbitrary power over the liberty and property of the subject, in the intervals between and the succeeding parliament; gentlemen of birth and character, who refused to lend what money the council was pleased to assess them, were taken out of their houses and imprisoned at a great distance from their habitation.

Those of the lower sort who refused to lend were pressed for the army, or had soldiers quartered upon them, who by their insolent behaviour disturbed the peace of families, and committed frequent felonies, and barbarous cruelties; insomuch that the highways were dangerous to travel, and the markets unfrequented. The King would have borrowed one hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, but they excused themselves. However, his Majesty got a round sum of money from the papists, by issuing a commission to the Archbishop of York, to compound with them for all their forfeitures that had been due for recusancy, since the tenth of James

or that should be due hereafter. By this fatal policy, men well affected to the hierarchy, though enemies to arbitrary power, were obliged to side with the puritans, to save the nation, and enable them to oppose the designs of the court.

To convince the people that it was their duty to submit to the loan, the clergy were employed to preach up the doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, and to prove that the absolute submission of subjects to the royal will and pleasure, was the doctrine of holy scripture. One of the sermons preached upon this subject by Dr. Sibthorp was dedicated to the King, and carried it to Archbishop Abbot to be licensed, which the honest old prelate refused, for which he was suspended from all his archiepiscopal functions, and ordered to retire to Canterbury or Ford, a moorish, unhealthy place, five miles beyond Canterbury. The sermon was then carried to the Bishop of London, who licensed and recommended it as "A sermon learnedly and discreetly preached, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the primitive church, both for faith and good manners, and to the established doctrine of the church of England."

Abbot had been out of favour for some time, because he would not give up the laws and liberties of his country, nor treat the Duke of Buckingham with that servile submission that he expected. Heylin says the King was displeased with him for being too favourable to the puritans, and that for this reason he seized his jurisdiction, and put it into hands more disposed to severity. Fuller says, that a commission was granted to five Bishops, whereof Laud was one, to suspend him for casual homicide that he had committed seven years before, and of which he had been cleared, in the reign of King James; besides his grace had a royal dispensation to shelter him from the canons, and had ever since exercised his jurisdiction without interruption, even to the consecrating of Laud himself to a bishopric. But the commission mentions no cause of his suspension, and only takes notice, that the Archbishop cannot at present, in his own person, attend the services which are otherwise proper for his connuance and jurisdiction. But why could he not

attend them? Because his Majesty had commanded him to retire for refusing to licence Sibthorp's sermon. The blame of this severity fell upon Laud, as if not having patience to wait for the old prelate's death, he was desirous to step into the archiepiscopal chair while he was alive; for no sooner was Abbot suspended, than his jurisdiction was put into the hands of five Bishops by commission, of whom Laud was the chief.

There was another prelate that gave the court some uneasiness, viz. DR. WILLIAMS, Bishop of Lincoln, who being in disgrace retired to his diocese, and became very popular among his clergy. He declared against the loan, and fell in with the puritans and country-party, insomuch that Sir J. Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp, informed the council, that they were grieved to see the Bishop of Lincoln give place to unconformable ministers, when he turned his back upon those who were conformable; that the puritans ruled all with him; and that divers of them in Leicestershire being convened before the commissaries, his lordship would not admit proceedings to be had against them. That they (the commissaries for the high commission) had informed the Bishop, of several of the factious puritans in the diocese who would not come up to the table to receive the communion kneeling; of their keeping unlawful fasts and meetings; that one fast held from eight in the morning till nine at night; and that collections for money were made without authority, upon pretence for the Palatinate: that therefore they had desired leave from the Bishop to proceed against them *ex officio*; but the Bishop replied, that he would not meddle against the puritans, that for his part he expected not another bishopric; they might complain of them if they would to the council table, for he was under a cloud already. He had the Duke of Buckingham for his enemy, and therefore would not draw the puritans upon him, for he was sure they would carry all things at last. Besides he said, the King in the first year of his reign, had given answer to a petition of the lower house at Oxford in favour of the puritans.

It appeared by the information of others, that Lamb and Sibthorp pressed the Bishop again to proceed against the puritans in Leicestershire; that the Bishop then asked

them, what sort of people they were, and of what condition? to which Sir J. Lumb replied, in the presence of Dr. Sibthorp, "That they seemed to the world to be such as would not swear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they would lye, cozen, and deceive; that they would frequently hear two sermons a day, and repeat the same again too, and afterwards pray, and that sometimes they would fast all day long."—Then the Bishop asked whether the places where those puritans were, did lend money freely upon the collection for the loan; to which Sir J. Lumb and Dr. Sibthorp replied that they did. Then said the Bishop, no man of discretion can say, that that place is a place of puritans: for my part I am not satisfied to give way to proceedings against them; at which Sibthorp was much discontented, and said he was troubled to see that the church was no better regarded. This information being transmitted to the council, was sealed up for the present, but was afterwards with some other matters, produced against his lordship in the star-chamber.

Though the King was at war with Spain, and with the house of Austria, and if I may be allowed to say it, with his own subjects, though he had no money in his exchequer, and was at the greatest loss how to raise any; yet he suffered himself to be prevailed with to enter into a new war with France, under the colour of maintaining the protestant religion in that country, without so much as thinking of ways and means to support it. But when one considers the character of this King and his ministry, it is hard to believe that this could be the real motive of the war; for his Majesty and his whole court had a mortal aversion to the French hugonots. Buckingham had no religion at all; Weston and Conway were catholics; and Laud and Neile thought there was no salvation for protestants out of the Church of England; how then can it be supposed that they should make war in defence of a religion for which they had the utmost contempt? Lord Clarendon says the war was owing to Buckingham's disappointment in his amours at the French court; but it is more likely he advised it to keep up the misunderstandings between the King and his parliament, by continuing the necessity of raising money by extraordinary methods, upon which his credit and re-

putation depended. War being declared, the Queen's domestics were sent home, and a fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitless descent upon the isle of Rhee, under the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, with the loss of five thousand men. This raised a world of complaints and murmurs against the Duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy King to try the experiment of another parliament.

As soon as this resolution was taken in council, orders were dispatched to all parts of the kingdom, to release the gentlemen imprisoned for the loan, to the number of seventy-eight, most of whom were chosen members for the ensuing parliament. In the mean time, his Majesty went on with raising money by excise; and instead of palliating the mistakes of his government, put on an air of high sovereignty, and told his parliament, that if they did not provide for the necessities of the state, he should use those other means that God had put into his hands, to save that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not this, says his Majesty, as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten my inferiors, but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity. But the parliament not being awed by this language, began with grievances; and though they voted five subsidies, they refused to carry the bill through the house, till they had obtained the royal assent to their petition of right, which asserted, among other, the following claims contained in *Magna Charta*. 1. That no freeman shall be detained in prison by the King and privy-council, without the cause of commitment be expressed, for which by law he ought to be detained. 2. That an Habeas Corpus ought not to be denied, where the law allows it. 3. That no tax, loan, or benevolence, shall be imposed without act of parliament. 4. That no man shall be fore-judged of life or limb, or be exiled or destroyed, but by the judgment of his peers, according to the laws of the land, or by act of parliament. The King gave the royal assent to this bill in the most ample manner, which I mention, that the reader may remember what regard his Majesty paid to it in the twelve succeeding years of his reign.

In the mean time, the house of Lords went upon Man-

wating's sermons, who had followed Sibthorp, in asserting the prerogatives of the King against the rights of the people, and passed the following sentence upon the authority; "That he be imprisoned during pleasure, and be fined one thousand pounds; that he make his submission at the bar of the house, and be suspended from his ministry for three years; that he be disabled for ever from preaching at court, be incapable of any ecclesiastical or secular preferment, and that his sermons be burnt in London and both Universities." Pursuant to this sentence, Manwaring appeared upon his knees at the bar of the house, and made an ample acknowledgement and submission, craving pardon of God, the King, the parliament, and the whole commonwealth, in words drawn up by a committee: but the houses were no sooner risen, than his fine was remitted, and himself preferred first to the living of Stamford Rivers, with a dispensation to hold St. Giles's in the fields, then to the Deanery of Worcester, and after some time to the bishopric of St. David's. Within a month after this, Montague was promoted to the bishopric of Chichester, while he lay under the censure of parliament. At his consecration at Bow church, Mr. Jones a stationer of London stood up, and excepted against his qualification for a bishopric, because the parliament had voted him incapable of any preferment in the church; but his exceptions were over-ruled, not being delivered in by a proctor; though Jones averred that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offered them their fees. Sibthorp the other incendiary, was made prebendary of Peterborough, and rector of Burton Latimer in Wiltshire; though the Oxford historian confesses he had nothing to recommend him but his forwardness and servile flattery.

While the money bill was going through the house of Lords, the commons were busy in drawing up a remonstrance of the grievances of the nation, with a petition for redress: but as soon as the King had obtained his money, he prorogued the parliament. The commons being disappointed of presenting their remonstrance, dispersed it through the nation; but the King called it in, and after some time published an answer drawn up by Laud, as

was proved against him at his trial. The remonstrance besides the civil grievances of billeting soldiers, &c. complains with regard to religion, 1. Of the great increase of popery by the laws not being put in execution; by conferring honours and places of command upon papists; by issuing out commissions to compound for their recusancy, and by permitting mass to be said openly at Denmark-house and other places.—2. The remonstrance complains of the discountenancing orthodox ministers, though conformable and peaceable in their behaviour, insomuch that they are hardly permitted to lecture where there is no constant preaching;—That their books are prohibited, when those of their adversaries are licensed and published;—That the Bishops Neile and Laud are justly suspected of arminianism and popish errors, &c.—3. The remonstrance also complains of the growth of arminianism, as a cunning way to bring in popery.

Although the answer denies or evades the truth of the allegations contained in this remonstrance, a letter written at this time by a jesuit in England, to the rector of the college at Brussels, sufficiently supports the parliament's charge, and shews how arminianism and popery, which have no natural connection, came to be united at this time against the protestant religion, and the liberties of England; the following is the substance of it.—“Let not the dapp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous soul, says the jesuit, in apprehending the unexpected calling of a parliament; we (the papists) have not opposed, but rather furthered it. You must know the council is engaged to assist the King by way of prerogative, in case the parliament fail. The elections have been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure with much art and industry, when the Spanish match was in treaty. We have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more; for when King James lived, he was very violent against arminianism, and interrupted our strong designs in Holland. Now we have planted that sovereign drug, arminianism, which we hope will purge the protestants from their heresy, and it flourishes and bears fruit in due

season. The materials that build up our bulwark, are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities ; however, both these factions co-operate to destroy the parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is oligarchy. These serve as mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal catholic monarchy ; our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation. We proceed now by counsel and mature deliberation, how and when to work upon the Duke's (Buckingham's) jealousy and revenge ; and in this we give the honour to those that merit it, which are the church catholics. There is another matter of consequence which we must take much into our consideration, which is to stave off puritans, that they hang not in the Duke's ears ; they are an impudent subtle people, and it is to be feared lest they should negotiate a reconciliation between the Duke and the parliament at Oxford and Westminster ; but now we assure ourselves, that we have so handled the matter, that both the Duke and parliament are irreconcilable.

The letter then goes on to say, that for the better prevention of the puritans, the arminians have already locked up the Duke's ears, and we have those of our own religion that stand continually at the Duke's chamber, to see who goes in and out. I cannot choose but laugh to see how some of our own coat have accoutred themselves ; and it is admirable how in speech and gesture they act the puritans. The Cambridge scholars, to their woeful experience shall see, we can act the puritans a little better than they have done the jesuits. They have abused our sacred patron in jest, but we will make them smart² for it in earnest. But to return to the main fabric, our foundation is arminianism ; the arminians and projectors affect mutation ; this we second and enforce by probable arguments. We shew how the King may free himself of his ward, and raise a vast revenue without being beholden to his subjects, which is by way of excise. Then our church catholics shew the means how to settle the excise, which must be by a mercenary army of foreigners, their horse will eat up the country where they come, though they be well paid, much more if they be not paid. The army is

to consist of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; so that if the country rise upon settling the excise, as probably they will, the army will conquer them, and pay themselves out of the confiscation. Our design is to work the protestants as well as the catholics to welcome a conqueror. We hope to dissolve trade; to hinder the building of shipping, and to take away the merchant ships, that they may not easily light upon the West India fleet, &c. It appears from this letter, that PURITANISM was the only bulwark of the constitution, and of the protestant religion, against the inroads of popery and arbitrary power.

4. To go on with the parliament's remonstrance, which complains further of the miserable condition of Ireland, where the popish religion is openly professed, and their ecclesiastical discipline avowed, monasteries, nunneries and other religious houses re-edified, and filled men and women of several orders, even in the city of Dublin itself. The parliament knew more of the affairs of Ireland than Bishop Laud: the agents for that kingdom had represented the protestant religion in great danger, by the suspending all proceedings against them ever since the King came to the crown; by this means they were become so bold, that when Lord Falkland summoned their chiefs to meet at Dublin, in order to a general contribution for defence of the kingdom against a foreign invasion, they declared roundly, that they would contribute nothing without a toleration, and liberty to build religious houses; upon which the assembly was dismissed. This awakened the protestant Bishops, who met together, and signed a protestation, against popery as superstitious and idolatrous. But notwithstanding the papists gained their point, and in the fourth year of the King's reign had a toleration granted them, in consideration of the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to be paid in three years.

With regard to the building religious houses, it is wonderfull that neither the King nor his prime minister should know any thing of it, when the Lord deputy Falkland had this very summer issued out a proclamation

in the preamble of which it is stated, that the papists have dared of late, not only to assemble themselves in public places, but also have erected houses and buildings, called public oratories, colleges, mass-houses, and convents of friars, monks and nuns, in the eye and open view of the state, and elsewhere, and do frequently exercise jurisdiction against his Majesty's subjects, by authority derived from Rome. Could such a proclamation be printed and dispersed over the kingdom of Ireland, without being known to the English court?

The see of London becoming vacant this summer Laud was translated to it, and the Duke of Buckingham being stabbed at Portsmouth by Felton, this ambitious prelate became prime minister in all affairs both of church and state. One of the Bishop's first enterprizes, after his translation, was to stifle the predestinarian controversy, for which purpose he procured the thirty-nine articles to be reprinted, with a declaration in the King's name, which says among other things, that if any public reader in the universities, or any other person, shall affix any new sense to any article, or shall publicly read, or hold disputation on either side; or if any divine in the universities shall preach, or print any thing either way, they shall be liable to censure in the ecclesiastical commission, and we will see there shall be due execution upon them." The calvinist divines understood the King's intention, and complained in a petition of "The restraints they were laid under by his Majesty's forbidding them to preach the saving doctrines of God's free grace in election, and predestination to eternal life, according to the seventeenth article of the church. That this had brought them under a very uncomfortable dilemma, either by falling under the divine displeasure, or of being censured for opposition to his Majesty's authority, in case they preached or published in defence of the received doctrines of the church. Therefore they humbly intreat, that his Majesty would be pleased to take the forementioned evils and grievances into his princely consideration, and apply such speedy remedies as may both cure the present distemper, and preserve the church and state from those plagues with which their neighbours had not been a little distressed."

But this address was stopped in its progress, and never reached the King's ears.

In pursuance of his Majesty's declaration, all books relating to the arminian controversy were called in by proclamation and suppressed, and among others Montague's and Manwaring's, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be aimed at the puritans; for at the same time Montague and Manwaring received the royal pardon, and were preferred to some of the best livings in the kingdom, as has been observed, while the answer to their books, were not only suppressed, but the publishers questioned in the star-chamber. The King put on the same thin disguise with regard to papists; a proclamation was issued out against priests and jesuits, and particularly against the Bishop of Chalcedon; orders were also sent to the Lord Mayor of London, to make search after them and commit them to prison, but at the same time his Majesty appointed commissioners to compound with them for their recusancy; so that instead of being suppressed, they became a branch of the revenue, and Sir R. Weston, a notorious papist, was created Earl of Portland, and made Lord high treasurer of England.

When the parliament met according to prorogation, they began again with grievances of religion: OLIVER CROMWELL, being of the committee, reported to the house the countenance that was given by Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, to divines who preached arminian and popish doctrine: he mentioned the favours that had been bestowed upon Montague and Manwaring, who had been censured the last sessions of parliament; and added, "If this be the way to church-preferment, what may we expect?" Upon debating the King's late declaration, the house voted, "That the main end of that declaration was to suppress the puritan party, and to give liberty to the contrary side." After several warm and angry speeches against the new ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the church, the house entered into the following vow. "We the commons in parliament assembled do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion which were established by parliament in the

thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the jesuits and arminians, and all others that differ from us."

Bishop Laud in his answer to this protestation asks, "Is there by this act any interpretation of the articles or not? If none, to what end is the act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? for interpretation of an article belongs to them only that have power to make it."—To which it might be answered, that the commons made no new interpretation of the articles, but avowed for truth the current sense of expositors before that time, in opposition to the modern interpretation of jesuit and arminians. But what authority have laymen to make it? Answer, the same that they had in the 13th of Elizabeth to establish them, as the doctrine of the church of England; unless we will say with Mr. Collyer, that neither the sense of the articles, nor the articles themselves, were established in that parliament or in any other; if so, they are no part of the legal constitution, and men may subscribe the words without putting any sense upon them at all; an admirable way to prevent diversity of opinions in matters of faith! But his Lordship adds,—“That it is against the King’s declaration, which says, we must take the general meaning of them, and not draw them aside any way, but take them in the literal and grammatical sense.”—Has the King then a power, without convocation or parliament, to interpret and determine the sense of the articles for the whole body of the clergy? By the general meaning of the articles, the declaration seems to understand no one determined sense at all. Strange! that so learned and wise a body of clergy and laity in convocation and parliament, should establish a number of articles with this title,—“For the avoiding of diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion,” without any one determined sense! The Bishop goes on, and excepts against the current sense of expositors, “Because they may, and perhaps do go against the literal sense.” Will his lordship then abide by the literal

and grammatical sense? No, for he adds, if an article bear more senses than one, a man may choose what sense his judgment directs him to, provided it be a sense, according to the analogy of faith, till the church determine a particular sense; but it is the wisdom of the church to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, and not require assent to particulars."—His lordship had better have spoken out and said, that it would be the wisdom of the church to require no subscriptions at all. To what straits are men driven to comply with the laws, when their sentiments differ from the literal and grammatical sense of the articles of the church? Mr. Collyer says, they have no established sense; King Charles in his declaration, that they are to be understood in a general sense, but not to be drawn aside to a particular determined sense. But I am afraid this reasoning is too wonderful for the reader.

While the parliament were expressing their zeal against arminianism and popery, a new controversy arose, which provoked his Majesty to dissolve them, and to resolve to govern without parliaments for the future; for though the king had so lately signed the petition of right in full parliament, he went on with levying money by his royal prerogative. A bill was depending in the house to grant his Majesty the duties of tonnage and poundage; but before it was passed, the Custom-house officers seized the goods of three eminent merchants for non-payment. One was fined two thousand pounds, besides the loss of his goods, and suffered six years imprisonment. The warehouses of another were locked up, and himself taken out of the house of commons and imprisoned. This occasioned some warm speeches against the Custom-house officers and farmers of the revenues; but the King took all the blame on himself, and sent the house word, that what the officers had done, was by his special direction and command, and that was not so much their act as his own. This was a new way of covering the unwarrantable proceedings of corrupt ministers, and was said to be the advice of the Bishops Laud and Neile; a contrivance that laid the foundation of his Majesty's ruin. It is a maxim in law, that, "The King can do no wrong," and that all

mal-administrations are chargeable upon his ministers; yet now, in order to skreen his servants, his Majesty will make himself answerable for their conduct. So that if the parliament will defend their rights and properties, they must charge the King personally, who in his own opinion was above law, and accountable for his actions to none but God. It was moved in the house, that notwithstanding the King's answer, the officers of the custom should be proceeded against, by separating their interests from the King's. But when the speaker, Sir J. Finch, was desired to put the question he refused, saying the King had commanded the contrary. Upon which the house adjourned, and were then adjourned by the King's order, when meeting again, and requiring the speaker to put the former question, he again refused, and said he had the King's order to adjourn them to March sixteenth, but they detained him in the chair, not without some tumult and confusion, till they made the following protestation.—1. Whosoever shall by favour or countenance, seem to extend or introduce popery or arminianism, shall be reputed a capital enemy of the kingdom. 2. Whosoever shall advise the levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a capital enemy. 3. If any merchant shall voluntarily pay those duties, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy of the same.

The next day warrants were directed to D. Hollis, Sir J. Elliot, W. Coriton, B. Valentine, J. Selden, Esqrs. and four more of the principal members of the house, to appear before the council on the morrow: four of them appeared accordingly, viz. Messrs. Hollis, Elliot, Coriton, and Valentine; who refusing to answer out of parliament for what was said in the house, were committed close prisoners to the Tower. The studies of the rest were ordered to be sealed up, and a proclamation issued for apprehending them; though the parliament not being dissolved, they were actually members of the house. On the tenth of March, the King came to the house of Lords, and without sending for the commons, or passing one single act, dissolved the parliament, with a very angry speech against the leading members of the lower house,

whom he called *vipers*, that cast a mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes. And as those vipers, says his Majesty, must look for their reward of punishment; so you, my lords, must justly expect from me that favour that a good King oweth to his loving and faithful nobility. The undutifulness of the commons was only their keeping the speaker in the chair, after he had signified that the King had adjourned them, which his Majesty had no power of doing, and no King before James the first, pretended to adjourn parliaments, and when he claimed that power, it was complained of as a breach of privilege. It is one thing to prorogue or dissolve a parliament, and another to adjourn it, the latter being the act of the house itself, and the consequence of vesting such a power in the crown might be very fatal; for if the King may adjourn the house in the midst of their debates, or forbid the speaker to put a question when required, it is easy to foresee the whole business of parliament must be under his direction. The members above-mentioned were sentenced to be imprisoned, and were accordingly kept under close confinement many years, where Sir J. Elliot died a martyr to the liberties of his country. Mr. Hollis was fined a thousand marks, Sir J. Elliot two thousand pounds, Valentine five hundred pounds, and Long two thousand marks.

Great were the murmurings of the people upon this occasion; libels were dispersed against the prime minister Laud; one of which says, "Laud look to thyself, be assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be taken out of this world; and assure thyself, neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor or whisperer to live."—But to justify these proceedings to the world, his Majesty published a declaration of the causes of dissolving the last parliament. The declaration vindicates the King's taking the duties of tonnage and poundage, from the examples of some of his predecessors, and as agreeable to his kingly honour. It justifies the silencing the predestinarian controversy, and lays the blame of not executing the laws against papists, upon subordinate officers and ministers in the country,

But this not quieting the people, was followed by

a proclamation, which put an end to all prospects of recovering the constitution for the future. The proclamation declares his Majesty's royal pleasure,—“That spreaders of false reports shall be severely punished; that such as cheerfully go on with their trades, shall have all good encouragement: that he will not over-charge his subjects with any new burdens, but will satisfy himself with the duties received by his royal father, which he neither can, nor will dispense with. And whereas, for several ill ends, the calling of another parliament is divulged, his Majesty declares, that the late abuse having for the present driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that course, he shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his Majesty for parliaments, the calling, continuing and dissolving of which, is always in the King's own power.” Here was an end of the old English constitution, for twelve years. England was now an absolute monarchy; the King's proclamations and orders of council were the laws of the land; the ministers of state sported themselves in the most wanton acts of power; and the religion, laws, and liberties of this country lay prostrate and overwhelmed by an inundation of popery and oppression.

This year died Dr. J. Preston, descended of the family of the Prestons in Leicestershire. He was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, and was admitted of King's College Cambridge, 1604, from whence he was afterwards removed to Queen's College, and admitted fellow in 1609. He was an ambitious and aspiring youth, till having received some religious impressions under a sermon preached by Mr. Cotton, at St. Mary's, he became remarkably serious, and bent all his studies to the service of Christ in the ministry. When the King came to Cambridge, Mr. Preston was appointed to dispute before him: the question was, whether brutes had reason, or could make syllogisms. Mr. Preston maintained the affirmative; and instanced in a hound, who coming to a place where three ways meet, smells one way and the other; but not finding the scent, runs down the third with full cry, concluding that the hare not being gone either of the two first ways, must necessarily be gone the third. The argument had a wonderful

effect on the audience, and would have opened a door for Mr. Preston's preferment, had not his inclinations to puritanism been a bar in the way. He therefore resolved upon an academical life, and took upon him the care of pupils, for which he was qualified beyond most in the University. Many gentlemen's sons were committed to his care, who trained them up in the sentiments of the first reformers; for he affected the very style and language of Calvin. When it came to his turn to be catechist, he went through a whole body of divinity with such general acceptance, that the outward chapel was usually crowded with strangers before the fellows come in, which created him envy. Complaints was made to the vice-chancellor of this unusual way of catechising, and that it was not safe to suffer Mr. Preston to be thus adored, unless they had a mind to set up puritanism, and pull down the hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the convocation house, that no stranger, neither townsman nor scholar, should upon any pretence come to those lectures, which were only designed for the members of the college.

There was little preaching in the University at this time, except at St. Mary's, the lectures at Trinity and St. Andrew's being prohibited; Mr. Preston therefore, at the request of the townsmen and scholars or other colleges, attempted to set up an evening sermon at St. Buttolph's, belonging to Queen's College, but when Dr. Newcomb, commissary to the Bishop of Ely, heard of it, he came to the church and forbid it, commanding that evening prayers only should be read: there was a vast crowd, and earnest entreaty that Mr. Preston might preach, at least for that time, but the commissary was inexorable, and to prevent further importunities went home with his family; after he was gone, Mr. Preston was prevailed with to preach; and because much time had been spent in debates, they adventured for once to admit the service that the scholars might be present at their college prayers. Next day the commissary went to New-market, and complained both to the Bishop and King; he represented the danger of the hierarchy, and the progress of non-conformity among the scholars, and assured them that Mr. Preston was in such high esteem, that he would carry all before him if he was

not thoroughly dealt with. Being called before his superiors he gave a plain narrative of the fact; and added, that he had no design to affront the Bishop or his commissary. The Bishop said, the King was informed that he was an enemy to forms of prayer, which Mr. Preston denying, he was ordered to declare his judgment upon that head, in a sermon at St. Buttolph's church, and so was dismissed.

Some time after, King James being at New-market. Mr. Preston was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great applause, having a fluent speech, a commanding voice, and a strong memory, to deliver what he had prepared without the assistance of notes. The King spake familiarly to him; and though his Majesty expressed a dislike to some of his puritan notions, commended his opposing the arminians. And the Duke of Buckingham not knowing what friends he might want among the populace, persuaded the King to admit him one of the Prince's chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two months in the year. Soon after this he was chosen preacher of Lincoln's-inn, and, upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel College, at which time he took his degree of doctor of divinity. The doctor was a gentleman, a complete courtier, and in high esteem with the Duke of Buckingham, who thought by his means to ingratiate himself with the puritans, whose power was growing very formidable in parliament. The Duke offered him the bishopric of Gloucester, but the doctor refused, and chose rather the lectureship of Trinity church, which he kept till his death. By his interest in the Duke and the Prince, he did considerable service for many silenced ministers; he was in waiting when King James died, and came up with the young King and Duke in a close coach to London. But some time after the Duke having changed measures, and finding that he could neither gain over the puritans to his arbitrary designs, nor separate the doctor from their interests, he resolved to shake hands with his chaplain. The doctor foreseeing the storm, was content to retire quietly to his college, where it was apprehended he would have felt some further effects of the Duke's displeasure, if God in his providence had not cut him out work of a different nature, which engaged all his thoughts to the time of his death.

Dr. Preston had a strong constitution, which he wore out in his study and in the pulpit. His distemper was a consumption, for which by the advice of physicians, he changed the air several times; but the failure of his appetite with other symptoms of a general decay, prevailed with him at length to leave off all medicine, and resign himself to the will of God. And being desirous of dying in his native country, and among his old friends, he retired into Northamptonshire, where he departed this life in a most pious and devout manner, in the forty-first year of his age, and was buried in Fawsley church. His practical works and sermons were printed by his own order after his decease.

CHAP. II.



CHARLES I.

Arbitrary methods of Government.—King's Instructions about Lecturers.—Proceeding's against them.—Their Character.—Sufferings of Mr. Bernard and Mr. Chauncy.—Rise of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony.—Dr. Leighton writes against the Bishops.—His Barbarous sentence.—Bishop Laud's superstitious Consecration of Creed Church.—Remarks.—Puritan Preachers expelled the University of Oxford, for preaching against Arminianism.—Sufferings of Ministers for preaching against Church Sacraments.—Of Mr. Hayden—Of Mr. Sherfield—and Mr. Workman.—King's progress into Scotland.—Laud's behaviour in Scotland.—Death and Character of Archbishop Abbot.

THE ancient and legal government of England, by King, Lords and Commons, being now suspended by the royal will and pleasure, his Majesty resolved to supply the necessities of the state, by such other methods as the council should advise, who gave a loose to their actions, being no longer afraid of a parliamentary inquiry, and above the reach of ordinary justice. Instead of the authority of King and parliament, all public affairs were directed by proclamations of the King and council, which had the force of so many laws, and were bound upon the subject under the several penalties. They levied the duties of tonnage and poundage, and laid what other imposts they thought proper upon merchandize, which they let out to farm to private persons; the number of monopolies was

incredible; there was no branch of the subjects property that the ministry could dispose of, but was bought and sold. They raised above a million a year by taxes on soap, salt, candles, wine, &c. even to the gathering of rags. Grants were given out for weighing hay and straw within three miles of London; for gauging red herring barrels, and butter casks; for marking iron and sealing lace, with a great many others; which being purchased of the crown, must be paid for by the subject.

His Majesty claimed a right in cases of necessity (of which necessity himself was the sole judge) to raise money by ship writs, or royal mandates directed to the sheriffs of the several counties, to levy on the subject the several sums of money therein demanded, for the maintenance and support of the royal navy. The like was demanded for the royal army, by the name of coat and conduct money when they were to march; and when they were in quarters, the men were billeted upon private houses. Many were put to death by martial law, who ought to have been tried by the laws of the land; and others by the same martial law were exempted from the punishment, which by law they deserved. Large sums of money were raised by commissions under the great seal, to compound for depopulations, for nuisances in building between high and low water mark; for pretended encroachments on the forests, &c. beside the exorbitant fines of the star-chamber and high commission court; and the extraordinary projects of loans, benevolences, and free gifts. Such was the calamity of the times, that no man could call any thing his own longer than the King pleased; or might speak or write against these proceedings, without the utmost hazard of his liberty and estate.

The church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal methods; Laud being prime minister, pursued his wild scheme of *uniting* the two Churches of England and Rome, without the least regard to the rights of conscience, or the laws of the land, and very seldom to the canons of the church, bearing down all who opposed him with unrelenting severity and rigor. To make way for this union, the churches were not only to be repaired, but ornamented with pictures, paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. the

forms of public worship were to be decorated with a number of pompous rites and ceremonies, in imitation of the Church of Rome; and the puritans, who were the professed enemies or every thing that looked like popery, were to be suppressed or driven out of the land. To accomplish the latter, his lordship presented the King with certain considerations for settling the church, which were soon after published with some little variation, under the title of instructions to the two Archbishops, concerning certain orders to be observed, and put in execution by the several bishops.

Here his Majesty commands them to see, that his declaration for silencing the predestinarian controversy be strictly observed; and that special care be taken of the lectures or afternoon sermons, in their several dioceses, concerning which he is pleased to give the following instructions. 1. That in all parishes the afternoon sermons be turned into catechising by question and answer, where there is not some great cause to break this ancient and profitable order. 2. That every lecturer read divine service before lecture in his surplice and hood. 3. That where there are lectures in market towns, they be read by grave and orthodox divines; and that they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as too many do use. 4. That no lecturer be admitted, that is not ready and willing to take upon him a living with cure of souls. 5. That the Bishops take order, that the sermons of the lecturers be observed. 6. That none under noblemen, and men qualified by law, keep a private chaplain. 7. That care be taken, that the prayers and catechisings be frequented, as well as sermons. Of all which his Majesty requires an account once a year.

By virtue of these instructions, the Bishop of London summoned before him all ministers and lecturers in and about the city, and insisted on their obedience. He also sent letters to his Archdeacons, requiring them to send him lists of the lecturers within their archdeaconries, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they preached, and their quality or degree; as also the names of such gentlemen, who being not qualified, kept chaplains in their own houses. His lordship required

them further, to leave a copy of the Kings instructions with the parson of every parish, and to see that they were duly observed.

These lecturers were chiefly puritans, who not being satisfied with a full conformity, only preached in the afternoons, being chosen and maintained by the people. They were strict calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and distinguished themselves by a religious observation of the Lord's day, by a bold opposition to popery and the new ceremonies, and by an uncommon severity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the Bishop a distaste to sermons, who was already of opinion that they did more harm than good, insomuch that on a fast day for the plague then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all churches, but not a sermon to be preached, lest the people should wander from their own parishes. The lecturers had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Bishop Laud would often say, "They were the most dangerous enemies of the state, because by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people's disaffection, and therefore must be suppressed."

Good old Archbishop Abbot was of another spirit, but the reins were taken out of his hands. He had a good opinion of the lecturers, as men who had the protestant religion at heart, and would fortify their hearers against the return of popery. When Mr. Palmer lecturer of St. Alphage in Canterbury, was commanded to desist from preaching by the archdeacon, because he drew great numbers of factious people after him, and did not wear the surplice, the Archbishop authorized him to continue: as he did Mr. Udnay of Ashford, for which he was complained of, as not enforcing the King's instructions, whereby the commissioners (as they say) were made a scorn to the factious and the archdeacon's jurisdiction inhibited. But in the diocese of London, Laud proceeded with the utmost severity. Many lectures were put down, and such as preached against arminianism or the new ceremonies, were suspended and silenced.

Mr. Bernard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London,

having used this expression in his prayer before sermon, "Lord open the eyes of the Queen's Majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition and idolatry," was called before the high commission, and upon his humble submission was dismissed; but some time after, in a sermon at Cambridge, speaking offensive words against arminianism and the new ceremonies, Laud sent for a copy of his sermon, and having cited him before the high commission, required him to make an open recantation of what he had said, which his conscience not suffering him to do, he was suspended from his ministry, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New prison, where he lay many months, almost starved for want of necessaries; of which he complained to the Bishop in sundry letters, but could get no relief unless he would recant. Mr. Bernard offered to confess his sorrow and penitence for any oversights, or unbecoming expressions in his sermons, which were not accepted; so that in conclusion he was utterly ruined.

Mr. C. Chauncey, minister of Ware, having said in a sermon, that "The preaching of the gospel would be suppressed, and that there was much atheism, popery, arminianism, and heresy crept into the church," was questioned for it in the high commission, and not dismissed till he had made an open recantation. But his recantation went so much against his conscience, that he could enjoy no peace till he had quitted the church: when he retired to New-England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his sin. Mr. P. Smart, one of the prebendaries of Durham, and minister in that city, was imprisoned by the high commission of York this summer, for a sermon preached from those words, "I hate all those that love superstitious vanities, but thy law do I love;" In which he took occasion to speak against images and pictures, and the late pompous innovations. He was confined four months before the commissioners exhibited any articles against him, and five more before any proctor was allowed him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, and at length was deprived of his prebend, degraded, excommunicated,

fined five hundred pounds, and committed close prisoner, where he continued eleven years, till he was set at liberty by the long parliament : but he died soon after his release.

The King's instructions and the violent measures of the prime minister, brought a great deal of business into the spiritual courts; one or other of the puritan ministers was every week suspended or deprived, and their families driven to distress; nor was there any prospect of relief, the clouds gathering every day thicker over their heads, and threatning a violent storm. This put them upon projecting a farther settlement in New England, where they might be delivered from the hands of their oppressors, and enjoy the free liberty of their consciences; which gave birth to a second grand colony in North America, commonly known by the name of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. Several persons of quality and substance about the city of London engaging in the design, obtained a charter whereby the gentlemen and merchants therein named, and all who should thereafter join them, were constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name of, the governor and company of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY in NEW ENGLAND. They were empowered to elect their own governor, deputy governor and Magistrates, and to make such laws as they should think fit for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England. Free liberty of conscience was likewise granted to all who should settle in those parts, to Worship God in their own way. The new planters being all puritans, made their application to Mr. Higginson, a silenced minister in Leicestershire, and to Mr. Skelton another silenced minister of Lincolnshire, to be their chaplains, desiring them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. The little fleet that went upon this expedition, consisted of six sail of transports, from four to twenty guns, with about three hundred and fifty passengers, men women and children. They carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of cattle, six pieces of cannon for a fort, with muskets, &c. and a large quantity of ammunition and provision. The fleet sailed May 11, and arrived the 24th of June following at a place called, by the New planters, SALEM

Religion being the chief motive of their retreating into these parts, that was settled in the first place. August the 6th, being appointed for the solemnity of forming themselves into a religious society, the day was spent in fasting and prayer; and thirty persons who desired to be of the communion, severally in the presence of the whole congregation, declared their consent to a confession of faith, and signed a solemn covenant with God and with each other. After this they choose Mr. Skelton their pastor, Mr. Higginson their teacher, and Mr. Houghton their ruling elder, who were separated to their several offices by the imposition of the hands. The first winter proved a fatal one to the infant colony, carrying off above one hundred of their company, and among the rest Mr. Houghton, and Mr. Higginson. Mr. Higginson had been educated in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, being afterwards minister of one of the five churches in Leicester, where he continued till he was deprived for non-conformity; but such were his talents for the pulpit, that after his suspension, the town obtained liberty from Bishop Williams to choose him for their lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary contributions, till he was articted against in the high commission, and expected every hour a sentence of perpetual imprisonment: this induced him to accept of an invitation to remove to New England. Mr. Skelton the other minister was a Lincolnshire divine, who being silenced for non-conformity, accepted of a like invitation, and died of the hardships of the country. From this small beginning is the Massachusetts province grown to the figure is now makes in the American world. Next summer the governor went over with a fresh recruit of two hundred ministers, gentlemen, and others, who were forced out of their native country by the heat of the Laudean persecution.

When it appeared that the planters could subsist in their new settlement, great numbers of their friends with their families flocked after them every summer. In the succeeding twelve years of Lauds administration, there went over about four thousand planters, who laid the foundation of several little towns and villages up and down the country. Upon the whole, it has been computed,

that the four settlements of new England, viz. Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and Newhaven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of four or five hundred thousand pounds in money, (a very great sum in those days) and if the persecution of the puritans had continued twelve years longer, it is thought that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through this channel.

The chief leaders of the people into these parts were the puritan ministers, who being hunted from one diocese to another, at last choose this wilderness for their retreat, which has proved, through the over-ruling providence of God, a great accession to the strength and commerce of these kingdoms. There were seventy-seven divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country before 1640, all of whom were in orders in the church of England; and I must say, though they were not all of the first rank for deep and extensive learning, yet they had a better share of it than most of the neighbouring clergy; and which is of more consequence, they were men of strict sobriety and virtue; plain, serious, affectionate preachers, exactly conformable in sentiment to the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote christian knowledge, and a reformation of manners in their several parishes.

To return to England; though Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, had declared for the doctrine of universal redemption at the synod of Dort, he was this year brought into trouble for touching upon the point of predestination, in his Lent sermon before the King, on Romans vi. 23. "The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." This was construed as a contempt of the King's injunctions, for which his lordship was two days after summoned before the privy council, where he presented himself upon his knees, and so had continued, for any favour he received from any of his own function then present; but the temporal lords bid him rise and stand to his defence. The accusation was managed by Dr.

Harsnet, Archbishop of York, Laud walking all the while in silence, without speaking a word. Harsnet put him in mind of his obligations to King James; of the piety of his present Majesty's instructions; and then aggravated his contempt of them with great vehemence and acrimony. Bishop Davenant replied with mildness, that he was sorry that an established doctrine of the church should be so distasted; that he had preached nothing but what was expressly contained in the seventeenth article, and was ready to justify the truth of it. It was replied, that the doctrine was not gainsaid, but the King had commanded these questions should not be debated, and therefore his Majesty took it more offensively that any should do it in his own hearing. The Bishop replied, that he never understood that his Majesty had forbid the handling any doctrine comprised in the articles of the church, but only the raising new questions, or putting a new sense upon them, which he never should do; that in the King's declaration all the thirty-nine articles are confirmed, among which the seventeenth of predestination is one; that all ministers are obliged to subscribe to the truth of this article, and to continue in the true profession of that as well as the rest! the Bishop desired it might be shewn wherein he had transgressed his Majesty's commands, when he had kept himself within the bounds of the article, and had moved no new or curious questions. To which it was replied, that it was the King's pleasure, that for the peace of the church these high questions might be forborn. The Bishop then said, he was sorry he understood not his Majesty's intention, and that for time to come he would conform to his commands. Upon this he was dismissed without further trouble, and was after some time admitted to kiss the King's hand, who did not fail to remind him that the doctrine of predestination was too mysterious for the people's understanding, and therefore he was resolved not to give leave for discussing that controversy in the pulpit. Hereupon the Bishop retired, and was never afterwards in favour at court.

Soon after Mr. Madye, lecturer of Christ church, London, was cited before the high commission, and by an act of court, prohibited to preach any more within the

diocese of London, because he had disobeyed the King's declaration, by preaching on predestination. Dr. Burges, the famous Dr. Prideaux, with others, suffered on the same account. But Dr. Leighton, a Scots divine, father of the celebrated prelate of that name, met with severe usage for venturing to write against the hierarchy of the church. This divine had published during the last session of parliament, an "Appeal to the parliament; or, Zion's plea against prelacy," wherein he speaks not only with freedom, but with very great rudeness and indecency against BISHOPS; calling them men of blood, and saying, that we do not read of a greater persecution and higher indignities done towards God's people in any nation than in this, since the death of Queen Elizabeth. He calls the prelacy of the church anti-christian. He declaims vehemently against the canons and ceremonies; and adds, that the church has her laws from the scripture, and that no King may make laws for the house of God. He styles the Queen a daughter of Heth, and concludes with saying what pity it is that so ingenuous and tractable a King, should be so monstrously abused by the Bishops, to the undoing of himself and his subjects. Now though the warmth of these expressions can no ways be justified, yet let the reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the sentence of the court. When the cause was tried, "The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, denying an ill intention; his design being only to lay these things before the next parliament for their consideration. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, for this offence, "That the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the HIGH COMMISSION should degrade him from his ministry; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting and be whipt; after whipping be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a sower of sedition; that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pillory'd a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipt, and have the other side of his nose

slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life." Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it!!

Between passing the sentence and the execution, the doctor made his escape out of prison, but was retaken in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. On November the sixth, part of the sentence was executed upon him. He was severely whipt before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off; one side of his nose slit; branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S. On that day seven-night his sores upon his back, ear, nose and face, being not yet cured, he was whipt again at the pillory in Cheapside, and had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek. He was then carried back to prison, where he continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was released by the long parliament. The doctor was between forty and fifty years of age, of a low stature, a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities: but his long and close confinement had so impaired his health, that when he was released he could hardly walk, see, or hear. The sufferings of this learned man moved the people's compassion; and, I believe, the records of the inquisition can hardly furnish an example of equal severity. To make the distance between the church and the puritans yet wider, and the terms of conformity more difficult, Bishop Laud introduced sundry pompous innovations in imitation of popery, that had no foundation in the laws of the realm, or the canons of the church. These were enforced both upon clergy and laity, and all the terrors of the high commission, to the ruin of many families, and the raising very great disturbances in all parts of the kingdom.

St. Catherine Creed church, London, having been lately repaired, was shut up till it was again consecrated; the formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an idea of the superstition of this prelate. January 16, Laud came thither about nine in the morning, attended with several of the high commission, and some civilians:

At his approach to the west door of the church, which was shut and guarded by halberdeers, some who were appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in;" and presently the doors being opened, the Bishop with some doctors and principal men entered. As soon as they were come within the place, his lordship fell down upon his knees, and with eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, said, "this place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Then walking up the middle isle towards the chancel, he took up some of the dust, and threw it into the air several times. When he approached near the rail of the communion table, he bowed towards it five or six times, and returning, went round the church with his attendants in procession, saying first the hundredth, and then the nineteenth psalm, as prescribed in the Roman pontificale. He then read several collects, in one which he prays God, to accept of that beautiful building;" and concludes thus: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use." In another he prays, "that all that should hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place, may rest in their sepulchres in peace till Christ's coming to judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness." After this, the Bishop sitting under a cloth of state in the isle of the chancel, near the communion table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should hereafter profane that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane law courts, or carrying byrdens through it; and at the end of every curse he bowed to the east, and said, let all the people say, Amen. When the curses were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings upon all who had any hand in framing and building of that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given or should hereafter give, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utensils; and at the end of every blessing he bowed to the east, and said, let all the people say, Amen. After this followed the sermon, and then the sacrament, which the

Bishop consecrated and administered after the following manner.

As he approached the altar, he made five or six low bows, and coming up to the side of it, where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the napkin, retreated hastily a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His lordship then advanced, and having uncovered the bread bowed three times as before: then laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go he stepped back, and bowed three times towards it; then came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before. After which the elements were consecrated, and the Bishop having first received, gave it to some principal men in their surplices, hoods and tippets; towards the conclusion, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended.

He consecrated St. Giles's church in the same manner, which had been repaired, and part of it new built in his predecessor Mountain's time. Divine service had been performed, and the sacraments administered in it for three or four years since that time without exception; but as soon as Laud was advanced to the see of London, he interdicted the church, and prohibited divine service therein, till it should be re-consecrated, which is more than ever the canon law requires. And various other chapels and churches were by the Bishop's direction, likewise shut up till they were consecrated in this manner.

This method of consecrating churches was new to the people, and in the opinion of the first reformers superstitious and absurd; for though it is reasonable there should be public buildings reserved and set apart for public worship, and that at the first opening them, prayers should be offered for a divine blessing on the ordinances of Christ, that may at any time be administered in them; yet have we not the least ground to believe that Bishops, or any other dignitaries of the church, can by their declaration

or forms of prayer, hallow the building, or make the ground holy, or introduce a divine presence or glory. Where is their commission? Or what example have we of this kind in the New Testament? The synagogues of the Jews were not consecrated in this manner; nor was the temple of Solomon consecrated by a priest, but by a King. Our Saviour tells his disciples, that, "where-soever two or three of them should be gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them;" and the woman of Samaria, that "the hour was coming when neither at that mountain, nor at Jerusalem, they should worship the Father." Besides, the changes made by time and various accidents in towns and cities, render it impossible to prevent the alienation or profanation of holy ground; for to look no farther than the city of London, would it not be very hard if all the curses that Laud pronounced in Creed church, should rest upon those who live in houses built by act of parliament, in places where there were consecrated churches, or church yards before the fire of London. And what form was there for this practice in the public offices of the church? A proclamation was published last year, commanding the Archbishops and Bishops to take special care that the parish churches in their several dioceses, being places consecrated to the worship of God, be kept in decent repair, and to make use of the power of the ecclesiastical court to oblige the parishioners to this part of their duty. The judges were also required to interrupt this good work, by too easily granting prohibitions from the spiritual courts. It seems various churches since the reformation were fallen to decay; and some that had been defaced by the pulling down of images, and other popish relics, had not been decently repaired, the expence being too heavy for the poorer country parishes; it was therefore thought necessary to oblige them to their duty; and under colour of this proclamation, Laud introduced many of the trappings and decorations of popery, and punished those ministers in the high commission court, that ventured to write or preach against them.

His lordship began with his own cathedral of St. Paul's for repairing and beautifying of which, a subscription and

contribution was appointed over the whole kingdom. Several houses and shops adjoining to the cathedral were, by an injunction of council, ordered to be pulled down, and the owners to accept of a reasonable satisfaction. But if they would not comply, the sheriff of London was required to see them demolished. The church of St. Gregory's was pulled down, and the inhabitants assigned to Christ's church, where they were to assemble for the future. The Bishop's heart was in this work, and to support the expence, he gave way to many oppressions and unjustifiable methods of raising money, by compositions with recusants, commutations of penance, exorbitant fines in the star-chamber and high commission, insomuch that it became a proverb, that St. Paul's *was repaired with the sins of the people*. Before 1640, above one hundred and thirteen thousand pounds was expended thereon; but the rebuilding the spire, and the inside decorations miscarried, by the breaking out of the civil war.

What these decorations and ornaments of paintings, carvings, altars, crucifixes, &c. would have been, can only be guessed by the fashions of the times, and by the scheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken relics of superstition and idolatry, which the reformation had left, or to set up others in imitation of them; for though the reformation of Queen Elizabeth had destroyed a great many monuments of this kind; yet some were left entire, and others very little defaced. In the Cathedral of Canterbury, over the door of the choir, remained thirteen images, or statutes of stone; twelve of them representing the twelve apostles, and the thirteenth in the middle of them our Saviour Christ. Over these were twelve other images of popish saints. In the several windows of the cathedral were painted the pictures of St. Austin the monk, the first Bishop of that see, and seven large pictures of the virgin Mary, with angels lifting her up to heaven, and under the virgin Mary's feet, were the sun, moon, and stars. Besides these, were many pictures of God the Father and of the Holy Ghost, and of our Saviour lying in a manger, and a large image of Thomas Becket, and others

In the Cathedral of Durham, there was an altar set upon columns decorated with cherubims, pictures and images, which cost above two thousand pounds. There were three statutes of stone in the church; one standing in the midst, representing Christ with a golden beard, a blue cap, and sun rays upon his head. There was also an image of God the Father, and many other carved images, pictures, &c. which the present dignitaries of the cathedral held in profound admiration; and to keep up the pomp, they bought copes of mass priests, with crucifixes and images of the trinity embroidered upon them. They had consecrated knives to cut the sacramental bread, and great numbers of lighted candles upon the altars on Sundays and saints' days. On Candlemas-day there were no less than two hundred, all which were reckoned among the beauties of the sanctuary. But these fopperies, says Bishop Kennet, did not perhaps gain over one papist, but lost both the King and Bishops the hearts and affections of the protestant part of the nation. However, Laud was mightily enamoured with them, and as soon as he was translated to Lambeth, repaired the paintings in the windows of that chapel, that had been defaced at the reformation, and all was now restored, according to the Roman missale, and beautified at the Archbishop's cost. The like reparations of paintings, pictures, and crucifixes were made in the King's chapel, and both the Universities. The puritans apprehended these decorations of churches tended to image worship, and were directly contrary to the homily, of the peril of idolatry; their ministers therefore preached and wrote against them, and in some places removed them; for which they were severely handled in the high commission.

Laud had been chosen chancellor of Oxford last year. where the puritans soon gave him some disturbance. Mr. Hill, Mr. Ford, Mr. Thorne, and Mr. Giles Hodges, were charged with preaching against arminianism and the new ceremonies in their sermons at St. Mary's Hill, made a public recantation and was quickly released; but the very texts of the others gave offence. One preached on Numbers xiv. 4. "Let us make us a captain, and let us return into Egypt;" And another on 1 Kings xii. 2. "And he

cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar," &c. These divines being convened before the vice-chancellor, as offenders against the King's instructions, appealed to the proctors, who received their appeal. Upon this, the chancellor complained to the King, and procured the cause to be heard before his Majesty, when the following sentence was pressed upon them: "That Messrs. Ford, Thorn and Hodges, be expelled the University; that both the proctors be deprived of their places for accepting the appeal; and then Dr. Prideaux rector of Exeter college, and Dr. Wilkinson principal of Magdalen-Hall, receive a sharp admonition for their misbehaviour in this business." Thorn and Hodges, after a year's deprivation, desiring to be restored, preached a recantation sermon, and read a written submission in the convocation house on their bended knees: but Ford making no address to be restored, returned to his friends in Devonshire; and being like to be chose lecturer or vicar of Plymouth, the inhabitants were required not to choose him, upon pain of his Majesty's high displeasure; and in case he was chosen, the Bishop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him.

Mr. Crowder, vicar of Vell, near Nonsuch, was about this time committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, and then deprived by the high commission, without any articles exhibited against him, or proof of a crime. It was pretended that matters against him were so foul, that they were not fit to be read in court; but then they ought to have been certified to him, that he might have had an opportunity to disprove or confess them, which could not be obtained. Mr. Crowder was a pious man, and preached twice a day, which was an unpardonable crime so near the court. Sundry eminent divines removed to New England this year; and among others the famous Mr. Elliot, the apostle of the Indians, who not being allowed to teach school in his native country, retired to America, and spent a long and useful life in converting the natives, and with indefatigable pains translated the Bible into the Indian language. Two very considerable puritan divines were also removed by death, viz. Mr. Hildersham, born at

Stechworth, Cambridgeshire, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of an ancient and honourable family; his mother Anne Pole being neice to the cardinal of that name. His father educated him in the popish religion; and because he would not go to Rome at fourteen or fifteen years of age, disinherited him: but the Earl of Huntingdon, his near kinsman, sent him to Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and entered into holy orders. In 1587, he was placed by the Earl of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. But here as in several other instances, he was silenced for non-conformity, and remained under suspension many years. In 1613, he was enjoined not to exercise any part of the ministerial function, till he should be restored: and in 1615, he was committed to the Fleet, for refusing the oath *ex officio*, where he continued three months, and was then released upon bond. In November 1616, the high commission proceeded against him, and because he refused to conform, declared him a schismatic, fined him two thousand pounds, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to prison. But he wisely absconded, and kept out of the way. In 1625, he was restored to his living; but when Laud had the ascendant, he was silenced again for not reading divine service in the surplice and hood, and was not restored till a few months before his death. Though he was a non-conformist in principle, yet was he a person of great temper and moderation: he loved and respected all good men, and opposed the separation of the Brownists, and the semi-separation of Mr. Jacob. His lectures on the 51st psalm, and his other printed works, shew him to have been a most excellent divine. He died in the sixty-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Ashby de la Zouch (as the times would suffer him) above forty-three years.

Mr. Bolton was born at Blackburn, in Lancashire, educated first in Lincoln College, and afterwards in Brazen Nose College Oxford, of which he was fellow. Here he became famous for his lectures in moral and natural philosophy, being an excellent Grecian, and well versed in school divinity, while he continued a profane wicked

man. During his residence at college, he contracted an acquaintance with one Anderton a popish priest, who taking advantage of his mean circumstances, would have persuaded him to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and go over to one of the English seminaries in Flanders. Bolton accepted the motion, and appointed a place of meeting to conclude the affair: but Anderton disappointing him, he returned to the college, and fell under strong convictions for his former mispent life; so that he could neither eat nor sleep, or enjoy any peace of mind for several months; till at length by humiliation and prayer, he received comfort. Upon this, he resolved to enter upon the ministry, and about two years after, he was presented to the living of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, where he continued till his death. He was a most awakening and authoritative preacher, having the most strong masculine and oratorical stile of any of the age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's day, besides catechising. Upon every holy day, and every Friday before the sacrament, he expounded a chapter: his constant course was to pray six times a day, twice in secret, twice with his family, and twice with his wife, besides many days of private humiliation that he observed for the protestant churches in Germany. He was of a comely grave presence, which commanded respect in all companies; zealous in the cause of religion, and yet so prudent as to escape being called in question all the while he lived in Northamptonshire. At length he was seized with a *tertian* ague, which after fifteen weeks, put a period to his valuable and useful life, in the sixtieth year of his age. He made a most devout and exemplary end, praying heartily for all his friends that came to see him; bidding them make sure of heaven, and bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his ministry, protesting that what he had preached to them for twenty years, was the truth of God, as he should answer it at the tribunal of Christ. He then retired within himself, and said, "Hold out faith and patience, your work will speedily be at an end." His eloquent and excellent writings will recommend his memory to the latest posterity.

About 1627, there was a scheme formed by several gentlemen and ministers, to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the several market towns of England; and to defray the expence a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcelled out into sallaries of forty or fifty pounds for the subsistence of their lecturers: the money was deposited in the hands of ministers and gentlemen, in trust for the abovesaid purposes, under the name and character of **FEOFFEES**. Most people thought this a very laudable design, and wished it success; but Laud looked on them with an evil eye, and represented them to the King as in a conspiracy against the church, because instead of restoring the impropriations they purchased to the several livings, they kept them in their own hands for the encouragement of factious and seditious lecturers, who were to depend upon their patrons, as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty. For these reasons an information was brought against them by the Attorney-General, as an illicit society, formed into a body corporate, without a grant from the King, and not employing the profits according to law. And notwithstanding all they could say, the court was of opinion, that their proceedings were contrary to law, and decreed that their feoffment should be cancelled; that the impropriations they had purchased should be confiscated to the King, and the Feoffees themselves fined in the Star-chamber; however the prosecution was dropt as too invidious, it appearing in court by the receipts and disbursements, that the Feoffees were out of pocket already above one thousand pounds. The odium of this prosecution fell upon Laud, whose chancellor told him upon this occasion that he was miserably censured by the separatists; upon which he made this reflection in his diary, "Pray God give me patience, and forgive them."

But his lordship had very little patience with those who opposed his proceedings. We have seen his zeal for pictures and paintings in churches, which some of the puritans venturing to censure in their sermons and writ-

ings, were exposed to the severest punishments. Among these were Mr. Hayden of Devonshire, who being forced to abscond was apprehended in the diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harsenet, who after he had taken from him his horse, and money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up in prison for thirteen weeks; after which, when the justices would have admitted him to bail, his lordship sent him up to the high commission, who deprived him of his ministry and orders, and set a fine upon him for preaching against decorations and images in churches: and afterwards venturing to preach occasionally, without being restored, he was apprehended again and sent to the Gatehouse by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour; here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon during a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle of a room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food but bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie on. Before his release he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month and not return. Harsenet did not live to see the execution of this part of the sentence, though for his zeal against the puritans he was promoted to the see of York, and made a privy counsellor. Some time before his decease he not only persecuted the Non-conformists, but complained of the CONFORMABLE PURITANS, as he called them, because they complied out of policy, and not in judgment. How hard is the case, when men shall be punished for not conforming, and be complained of if they do conform! Queen Elizabeth used to say, she would never trouble herself about the consciences of her subjects, if they did but outwardly comply with the laws; whereas this prelate would ransack the very heart.

Henry Sherfield Esq. recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried in the Star-chamber, for taking down some painted glass out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's church in Salisbury, in which several pictures of God the Father, in form of a little old man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side: one represents him creating the sun and moon with a pair of compasses, others as working of the business of the six days creation, and

at last he sits in an elbow chair at rest. Many simple people, at their going in and out of church, did reverence to this window, because, as they said, the Lord their God was there. This gave such offence to the recorder, who was also a justice of peace, that he moved the parish at a vestry for leave to take it down, and set up a new window of white glass in the place, which was accordingly granted, six justices of the peace being present. Some time after Mr. Sherfield broke with his staff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the window; an account of which being transmitted to London, an information was exhibited against him in the Star-chamber. In his defence, Mr. Sherfield says, that the church of St. Edmund's was a lay fee, and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese; that the defendant, with the rest of the parishioners, had lawful power to take down the glass; and that it was agreed by a vestry that the glass should be changed, and the window made new; and that accordingly he took down a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner; but he avers, that the true history of the creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one: God the Father was painted like an old man with a blue coat, and a pair of compasses, to signify his compassing the heavens and the earth. In the fourth day's work there were fowls of the air flying up from God their maker, which should have been the fifth day. In the fifth days work a naked man is laying upon the earth asleep, with so much of a naked woman as from the knees upward growing out of his side, which should have been the sixth day; so that the history is false.

Further he declares it impious, to make an image or picture of God the Father, which he undertakes to prove from scripture, from canons and councils, from the mandates and decrees of sundry Emperors, from the opinions of ancient doctors of the church, and of our most judicious divines since the reformation. He adds, that his belief is agreeable to the doctrine of the church of England, and to the homilies, which say, that pictures of God are monuments of superstition, and ought to be destroyed; and to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, which command,

that all pictures and monuments of idolatry should be removed out of churches, that no memory of them might remain in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere. Mr. Sherfield concludes his defence with denying, that he was disaffected to the discipline of the church of England, or had encouraged any to oppose the government of it. Though it is hard to make a tolerable reply to this defence, yet Laud stood up and spake in excuse of the painter, saying, God the Father was called in scripture the "Ancient of days;" adding however that for his own part, he did not so well approve of pictures of things invisible; but be the paintings better or worse he insisted strongly, that Mr. Sherfield had taken them down in contempt of the episcopal authority, for which he moved, that he might be fined a thousand pounds, and removed from his recordership; that he be committed close prisoner to the Fleet till he pay his fine, and then be bound to his good behaviour. To all which the court agreed, except to the fine, which was mitigated to five hundred pounds.

Mr. Workman, lecturer of St. Stephen's, Gloucester, in one of his sermons asserted, that pictures or images were no ornaments to churches; that it was unlawful to set up images of Christ or saints in our houses, because it tended to idolatry, according to the homily. For which he was suspended by the high commission, excommunicated, and obliged to an open recantation; he was also condemned in costs of suit and imprisoned. Mr. Workman was a man of great piety, wisdom and moderation, and had served the church of St. Stephen's fifteen years; in consideration whereof, and of his numerous family, the city of Gloucester had given him an annuity of twenty pounds under their common seal, a little before his troubles: but for this act of charity, the mayor, town clerk, and several of the aldermen, were cited before the high commission, and put to one hundred pounds charges, and the annuity was cancelled. After this Mr. Workman set up a little school, of which Laud being informed, inhibited him, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. He then fell upon the practice of physic, which the Archbishop likewise absolutely forbid; so that being deprived of all methods of subsistence, he fell into a melancholy disorder

and died.—Our Bishop was no less watchful over the press than the pulpit, commanding his chaplains to expunge out of all books that came to be licensed, such passages as disallowed of paintings, carvings, drawings, gildings; erecting, bowing, or praying before images and pictures; as appeared by the evidence of Dr. Featly and others, at his trial.

This persecuting prelate would have stretched out his arm not only against the puritans in England, but even to reach the factories beyond sea, had it been in his power. The English church at Hamburgh managed their affairs according to the Geneva discipline, by elders and deacons. In Holland they conformed to the discipline of the states, and met them in their synods and assemblies, with the consent of King James, and of his present Majesty, till secretary Windbank at the instance of the Bishop offered some proposals to the privy council for their better regulation. These proposals were dispatched to the factories, and the Bishop wrote in particular to Delft, that it was his Majesty's express command, that their ministers should conform themselves in all things to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and to all the orders prescribed in the canons, rubric and liturgy: and that the names of such as were refractory should be sent over to him. But it was not possible to succeed in the attempt, because most of the English congregations being supported by the states, must by so doing have run the hazard of losing their maintenance, and of being dissolved. However though the Bishop could not accomplish his designs abroad, we shall find him hereafter retaliating his disappointment upon the French and Dutch churches at home.

His lordship met with better success in Scotland. He had possessed the King with vast notions of glory in bringing the kirk of Scotland to conformity with England; a work which his father had attempted but left imperfect, The King readily fell in with the Bishop's motion and determined to run all hazards for accomplishing this important design, having no less veneration for the ceremonies of the church of England than the Bishop himself.

There had been Bishops in Scotland for some years, but they had little more than the name, being subject to an assembly that was purely presbyterian. To advance their jurisdiction, the King had already renewed the high commission, and abolished all general assemblies of the kirk, not one having been held in his reign; yet still there was no form of religion, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness. To redress these grievances, as well as to shew the nation the pomp and grandeur of the English hierarchy, his Majesty resolves upon a progress into his native country to be crowned, and accordingly set out from London attended by several noblemen and persons of quality; and among others by Bishop Laud. June 18th, his Majesty was crowned at Edinburgh, the ceremony being managed by the direction of his favourite Bishop, who thrust away the Bishop of Glasgow from his place, because he appeared without the coat of his order, which being an embroidered one, he scrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman.

On the 20th of June the parliament met, and voted the King a large sum of money, after which his Majesty proposed to them two acts relating to religion; one was concerning his royal prerogative, and the apparel of kirkmen. The other, a bill for the ratification of former acts touching religion. It being the custom in Scotland for King, lords and commons to sit in one house, when the question was put for the first bill his Majesty took a paper out of his pocket, and said "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I will know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." Nevertheless it was carried in the negative; thirteen Lords, and the majority of the commons voting against it. The Lords said, they agreed to the act so far as related to his Majesty's prerogative, but dissented from that part of it which referred to the apparel of kirkmen, fearing that under that cover the surplice might be introduced. But his Majesty said, he would have no distinction, and commanded them to say, Yes, or No, to the whole bill. The King marked every man's vote, and upon casting them up, the clerk declared it

was carried in the affirmative. Which some of the members denying, his Majesty said, the clerk's declaration must stand, unless any one would go to the bar and accuse him of falsifying the record of parliament, at the peril of his life. This manner of treating the whole representative body of the nation, disgusted all ranks and orders of his subjects. A writing was immediately dispersed abroad, setting forth, how grievous it was for a King to overawe and threaten his parliament in that manner; and that the same was a breach of privilege; that parliaments were a mere pageantry, if the clerk might declare the votes as he pleased and no scrutiny be allowed. Lord Balmerino, in whose custody this libel was found, was condemned to lose his head for it, but was afterwards pardoned. After eight days his Majesty dissolved the parliament, in high displeasure with the dissenting lords: and left his native country, having lost a great deal of ground in the affections of his people, by the contempt he poured upon the Scots clergy, and his imperious behaviour in favour of the English ceremonies. His Majesty was attended throughout his whole progress by Laud, which service his lordship was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excused from, if the design of introducing the English liturgy into Scotland had not been in view. He preached before the King in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, which scarce any Englishman had ever done before, and insisted principally upon the benefit of the ceremonies of the church, which he himself observed to the height. It went against him to own the Scots presbyters for ministers of Christ; taking all occasion to affront their character; which created great disgust in that nation, and laid the foundation of those resentments that they expressed against him under his sufferings.

When the King left Scotland, he erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh, and about two months after, Laud being then newly advanced to the province of Canterbury, framed articles for the reformation of his Majesty's royal chapel in that city, which were sent into Scotland under his Majesty's own hand, with a declaration, that they were intended as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in that kingdom. Thus were the liberties of the kirk of Scotland invaded by an English Bishop, under the wing of

the supremacy, without consent of parliament or general assembly. The Scots ministers in their pulpits preached against the English hierarchy, and warned the people against surrendering up the liberties of their kirk into the hands of a neighbouring nation, that was undermining their discipline ; so that when the new liturgy came to be introduced about four years after, all the people as one man rose up against it.

The King was no sooner returned from Scotland, than Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. He was born at Guildford in Surry, and educated in Baliol College, Oxford, where he was a celebrated preacher. In 1597 he proceeded doctor in divinity, and was elected master of University College. Two years after he was made Dean of Winchester, and was one of those divines appointed by King James to translate the New Testament into English. In 1609 he was consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, from thence he was translated to London, and upon the death of Archbishop Bancroft to Canterbury, having never been rector, vicar or incumbent, in any parish church in England. The Oxford historian, who was no friend to our archbishop's principles, confesses, that he was a pious, grave person, exemplary in his life and conversation, a plausible preacher, and that the many things he has written shew him to be a man of parts, learning and vigilance ; an able statesman, and of unwearied study, though overwhelmed with business. Fuller says, he was an excellent preacher, and that his severity towards the clergy was only to prevent their being punished by lay-judges, to their greater shame. Mr. Coke and Dr. Wellwood add, that he was a prelate of primitive sanctity, who followed the true interests of his country, and of the reformed churches at home and abroad, that he was a divine of good learning, great hospitality, and wonderful moderation, shewing upon all occasions an unwillingness to stretch the King's prerogative or the act of uniformity, beyond what was consistent with law, or necessary for the peace of the church ; this brought him into all his troubles, and has provoked the writers for the prerogative, to leave a blot upon his memory, which on this account will be revered by all true lovers of the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country ; and if the court had followed his

wise and prudent counsels, the mischiefs that befel the crown and church some years after his death, would have been prevented. We have mentioned his casual homicide in the year 1621, which occasioned his keeping an annual fast as long as he lived, and maintained the widow; notwithstanding this misfortune, if he would have betrayed the protestant religion, and been the dupe of the prerogative, he might have continued in high favour with his prince; but for his steady opposition to the arbitrary measures of Buckingham and Laud, and for not licensing Sibthorp's sermon, he was suspended from his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, whereupon he retired to Croydon, having no more interest at court, or influence in the government of the church; here he died, in his palace, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was buried in Trinity-church, in Guildford, where he had erected and endowed an hospital for men and women. There is a fine monument over his grave, with his effigies in full proportion, supported by six pillars of the doric order of black marble, standing on six pedestals of piled books with a large inscription thereon to his memory.

CHAP. III.



CHARLES I.

Laud succeeds Abbot in the see of Canterbury.—Wakes and Revels countenanced on the Lord's day.—Hardships of the Puritans.—Sufferings of Mr. Wilson.—Of Mr. Snelling.—Alterations in the Service Book.—Injunctions against Lectures.—Mr. Prymme's sentence in the Star-Chamber.—French and Dutch Churches obliged to conform.—Foreign Protestant Churches disowned.—Sufferings of Non-conformists.—Affairs of Scotland:—Laud holds Ecclesiastical Courts in his own Name, contrary to Law.—Illegal Articles of Visitation.—Grandeur of the Church.—Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.—Sufferings of Non-conformists.—Nation disgusted with the cruelties exercised against them.—Courage of Puritans.—They are forbid to depart the Kingdom.—Approach of the Clergy to Popery.—Design to unite the Churches of England and Rome.—Civil Liberties of England destroyed.—Remarks.

DR. Laud was now at the pinnacle of preferment, being translated to the see of Canterbury two days after Archbishop Abbot's death. He was likewise chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, privy counsellor for England and Scotland, first commissioner of the Exchequer, and one of the committee for trade, and for the King's revenues. He was also offered a cardinal's cap, which he declined, as he says, because there was something dwelt within him which would not suffer it, till

Rome was otherwise than it was. We are now to see how he moved in this high sphere.

The Archbishop's antipathy to calvanism, and zeal for the external beauty of the church, carried him to some very imprudent and unjustifiable extremes; for if the puritans were too strict in keeping holy the sabbath, his grace was too lax in his indulgence, by encouraging revels, may-games and sports, on that sacred day.

Complaint having been made to the Judges in the western circuit, of great inconveniences arising from revels, church ales, and clerk ales on the Lord's days, they made an order at the assizes for suppressing them, and appointed the clerk to leave copies of the order with every parish minister, who was to give a note under his hand, to publish it twice in his church yearly. Upon the return of the circuit the judges required an account of the execution of their order, and punished some persons for the breach of it; whereupon the Archbishop complained to the King of their invading the episcopal jurisdiction, and prevailed with his Majesty to summons them before the council. When they appeared, Richardson pleaded that the order was made at the request of the justices of the peace, and with the unanimous consent of the whole bench; and justified it from various strong precedents. But notwithstanding all the chief justice could allege, he received a sharp reprimand, and a peremptory injunction to revoke his order at the next assizes; which he did, but in such a manner as lost him his credit at court for the future. This reprimand and injunction almost broke the judge's heart, for when he came out of the council chamber he told the Earl of Dorset with tears in his eyes, that he had been miserably shaken by the Archbishop, and was like to be choaked with his lawn sleeves.

Laud having thus humbled the judge, and recovered his episcopal authority from neglect, took the affair into his own hand, and wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for fuller information. In his letter he takes notice that there had been of late some noise in Somersetshire about the wakes; that the judges had prohibited them under pretence of some disorders, by which argument any

thing that is abused may be quite taken away; but that his Majesty was displeased with Richardson's behaviour at the two last assizes; being of opinion, that the feasts ought to be kept for the recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred, to gratify the humourists, who were very numerous in those parts, and united in crying down the feasts; his grace therefore requires the Bishop to give him a speedy account how these feasts had been ordered.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells, in answer to this letter acquaints the Archbishop, "That the late suppression of the revels was very unacceptable, and that the restitution of them would be very grateful to the gentry, clergy and common people; for proof of which he had procured the hands of seventy-two of his clergy, in whose parishes these feasts are kept: and he believes that if he had sent for an hundred more he should have had the same answer from them all? but these seventy-two are like the seventy-two interpreters, that agreed so soon in the translation of the Old Testament into Greek."

The people were fond of these recreations, and the Bishop recommends them, as bringing the people more willingly to church; as tending to civilize them, and to compose differences among them; and as serving to increase love and unity, forasmuch as they were in the nature of feasts of charity, the richer sort keeping in a manner open house; for which and some other reasons his lordship thinks them fit to be retained. But the justices of the peace were of another mind, and signed an humble petition to the King, in which they declare that these revels had not only introduced a great profanation of the Lord's day, but riotous tipling, contempt of authority, quarrels, murders, &c. and were very prejudicial to the peace, piety, and good government of the country, and therefore they pray that they may be suppressed. Here we observe the laity petitioning for the religious observation of the Lord's day, and the Bishop with his clergy pleading for the profanation of it. To encourage these disorderly assemblies more effectually, Laud put the King upon republishing his father's declaration concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays

after divine service; which was done accordingly, with this remarkable addition. "Out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of those humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his Majesty's well-deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed father's declaration, the rather because of late in some counties of the kingdom his Majesty finds, that under pretence of taking away an abuse, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of churches, commonly called wakes; it is therefore his will and pleasure, that these feasts with others shall be observed, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with man-like and lawful exercises be used; and the justices of the peace are commanded not to molest any in their recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his Majesty's laws."

This declaration revived the controversy of the the morality of the sabbath, which had slept for many years, Mr. Bradbourne, a Suffolk minister, had published "A defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the sabbath day," and dedicated it to the King. But the poor man fell into the ambush of the high commission, whose well tempered severity so prevailed with him, that he became a convert, and conformed quietly to the church of England. White, Bishop of Ely, was commanded by the King to confute Bradbourne; after him appeared Dr. Pocklington, with his Sunday no sabbath; and after him Heylin the Archbishop's chaplain and others. These divines instead of softening some rigors in Bradbourne's sabbatarian strictness, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of divine right or moral obligation to the observance of the whole, or any part of the Lord's day, making it depend entirely upon ecclesiastical authority, and to oblige no further than to the few hours of public service; and that in the intervals, not only walking but mixed dancing, masques, interludes, revels, &c. were lawful and expedient.

Instead of convincing the sober part of the nation, it struck them with a kind of horror, to see themselves invited by the authority of the King and church, to that

which looked so like a contradiction to the command of God. It was certainly out of character for Bishops and clergymen, who should be the supports of religion, to draw men off from exercises of devotion in their families and closets, by enticing them to public recreations. People are forward enough of themselves to indulge these liberties, and need a check rather than a spur; but the wisdom of these times was different. The court had their balls, masquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, while the youth of the country were at their morrice dances, may-games, church and clerk ales, and all such kind of revelling.

The revival of this declaration was charged upon Laud at his trial, but his grace would not admit the charge, though he confessed his judgment was in favour of it. It was to be published in all parish churches either by the minister, or any other person, at the discretion of the Bishop, and therefore the putting this hardship on the clergy was their act and deed; but Laud knew it would distress the puritans. The severe pressing this declaration made sad havock among the puritans for seven years. Many poor clergymen strained their consciences in submission to their superiors. Some after publishing it, immediately read the fourth commandment to the people, "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy;" adding "This is the law of God; *the other*, the injunction of man." Some put it upon their curates, whilst great numbers refused to comply upon any terms whatsoever. Fuller says, that the Archbishop's moderation in his own diocese was remarkable, silencing but three, in whom also was a concurrence of other non-conformities; but that his adversaries imputed it not to his charity but policy, fox-like, ~~being~~ ^{going} farthest from his own den, and instigating other Bishops to do more than he would appear in himself. Sir N. Brent, his grace's vicar-general, attested upon oath at the Archbishop's trial, that he gave him a special charge to convene all ministers before him who would not read the book of sports on the Lord's day, and to suspend them for it. And when Mr. Ployer, Mr. Hieron, and Mr. Culmer, three suspended ministers repaired to Lambeth, and petitioned to be restored, the Archbishop told them, if they did not

know how to obey, he did not know how to grant their petition. So their suspension continued till the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the ruin of their poor families.

Several clergymen of other dioceses were also silenced, and deprived on the same account; as Mr. T. Wilson of Otham, who being sent for to Lambeth, and asked, whether he had read the book of sports in his church, answered no; whereupon the Archbishop replied immediately, I suspend you for ever from your office and benefice till you read it; and so he continued four years, being cited into the high commission, and articted against for the same crime: and divers others were censured by the high commission, of which the Archbishop was chief, for not reading the declaration, and not bowing at the blessed name of Jesus, &c. The learned Mr. L. Snelling, rector of Paul's Cray, was not only suspended by the high commission for four years, but deprived and excommunicated for not reading the declaration, &c. He pleaded in his own defence the laws of God and of the realm, and the authority of councils and fathers; he added, that the King's declaration did not enjoin ministers to read it, nor authorize the Bishops or high commissioners to suspend or punish ministers for not reading it; that it being merely a civil, not an ecclesiastical declaration enjoined by any canons or authority of the church, no ecclesiastical court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. Snelling offered to the commissioners in writing, but the Archbishop would not admit it, saying in open court, that whosoever should make such a defence, it should be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels. Upon this he was personally and judicially admonished to read the declaration within three weeks, which he refusing, was suspended. About four months after he was judicially admonished again, and refusing to comply, was excommunicated, and told that unless he conformed before the second day of next term, he should be deprived, which was accordingly done, and he continued under the sentence many years, to his unspeakable damage. It were endless to go into more particulars; how many hundred godly ministers in this and

other dioceses, says Mr. Prynne, have been suspended from their ministry, sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, prosecuted in the high commission, and forced to leave the kingdom for not publishing the declaration, is known to all men. Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich says, that great numbers in his diocese had declined it, and were suspended; that some had since complied, but that still there were thirty who peremptorily refused and were excommunicated. This the Bishop thinks a small number, although if they were as many in other dioceses the whole would amount to near eight hundred.

To render the Common Prayer Book more unexceptionable to the papists, and more distant from puritanism, Laud made sundry alterations in the later editions, without the sanction of convocation or parliament. In the collect for the royal family, the princess Elizabeth and her children were left out, and these words were expunged "O God, who art the Father of thine elect, and of their seed;" as tending towards particular election or predestination. In the prayer for the fifth of November were these words, "Root out that anti-christian and babylonish sect, which say of Jerusalem, down with it even to the ground. Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practice is murdering both soul and body," which in the last edition are thus changed "Root out the anti-christian and babylonish sect *of them*, which say of Jerusalem, down with it, and cut off those workers of iniquity, who turn religion into rebellion," &c. The design of which alteration was to relieve the papists, and to turn the prayer against the puritans, upon whom the popish plot was to have been fathered. In the epistle for Palm Sunday, instead of "IN the name of Jesus," as it was heretofore, it is now according to the last translation, "AT the name of Jesus every knee shall bow." But it was certainly very high presumption, for a single clergyman, or any number of them, to alter a service book established by act of parliament, and impose those alterations upon the whole body of the clergy. The puritans always excepted against bowing at the name of Jesus; it appeared to them very superstitious, as if worship was to be paid to a

name, or to the name of Jesus, more than to that of Christ, or Emanuel. However no penalty was annexed to the neglect of this ceremony, nor did any suffer for it, till Laud was at the head of the church, who pressed it equally with the rest, and caused above twenty ministers to be fined, censured. and put by their livings, for not bowing at the name of Jesus, or for preaching against it.

On the third of November was debated before his Majesty in council, the question about removing the communion table in St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's, from the middle of the chancel to the upper end of it, and placing it there in form of an altar. This being enjoined upon the church-wardens by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, without consent of the parishioners, they opposed it, and appealed to the court of arches, alleging that the book of Common Prayer, and eighty-second canon, gave liberty to place the communion table where it might stand with most convenience. His Majesty being informed of the appeal, and acquainted by the Archbishop, that it would be a leading case all over England, was pleased to order it to be debated before himself in council, and after hearing the arguments on both sides, declared that the liberty given by the eighty-second canon was not to be understood so, as if it were to be left to the discretion of the parish, much less to the fancies of a few humorous persons, but to the judgment of the ordinary, or bishop, to whose place it properly belonged to determine these points; he therefore confirmed the act of the ordinary, and gave commandment, that if the parishioners went on with their appeal, the dean of the arches, who was then attending at the hearing of the cause, should confirm the order of the dean and chapter. This was a sovereign manner of putting an end to a controversy, very agreeable to the Archbishop.

When the sacrament was administered in parish churches, the communion table was usually placed in the middle of the chancel, and the people received round it, or in their several places thereabout; but now all communion tables were ordered to be fixed under the east wall of the chancel with the ends north and south in form

of an altar; they were to be raised two or three steps above the floor, and encompassed with rails. Laud ordered his vicar-general to see this alteration made in all the churches and chapels of his province; to accomplish which, it was necessary to take down the galleries in some churches, and to remove ancient monuments. This was resented by some considerable families, and complained of as an injury to the dead, and such an expence to the living, as some country parishes could not bear, yet those who refused to pay the rates imposed by Laud, for this purpose, were fined in the spiritual courts contrary to law. It is almost incredible, what a ferment the making this alteration raised among the common people, all over England. Many ministers and church-wardens were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the Bishop's injunctions. Great numbers refused to come up to the rails and receive the sacrament, for which some were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of some hundreds, say the committee of the house of commons at the Archbishop's trial.

Books were wrote for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the life of religion had been at stake. But the Archbishop being determined to carry his point, prosecuted the affair with unjustifiable rigor over all the kingdom, punishing those who opposed him, without regard to the laws of the land. This occasioned a sort of schism, among the Bishops, and a great deal of uncharitableness among the inferior clergy; for those Bishops who had not been beholden to Laud for their preferments, nor had any further expectations, were very cool in the affair, while the Archbishop's creatures in many places, took upon them to make these alterations by their own authority, without the injunctions or directions of their diocesans, which laid the foundation of many law-suits. Those who opposed the alterations were called doctrinal puritans, and the promoters of them, doctrinal papists. The court clergy were of the latter sort, and were vehemently suspected of an inclination to popery, because of their superstitious bowing to the altar, not only in time of divine service, but at their

going in and out of church. This was a practice unknown to the laity of the church of England before this time, but Laud introduced it into the royal chapel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the clergy by his example, for when he went in and out of chapel, a lane was always made for him to see the altar, and do reverence towards it. All his Majesty's chaplains, and even the common people, were enjoined the same practice. In the new body of statutes for the cathedral of Canterbury, the dean and prebendaries are obliged by oath, to bow to the altar at coming in and going out of church; which could arise from no principle but a belief of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament or altar; or from a superstitious imitation of the pagans worshipping towards the east.

To make the adoration more significant, the altars in cathedrals were adorned with the most pompous furniture, and all the vessels underwent a solemn consecration. The cathedral of Canterbury was furnished, according to Bishop Andrews' model, who took it from the Roman missal, with two candlesticks, and tapers, a basin for oblation, a cushion for the service book, a silver gilt canister for the wafers, like a wicker basket, lined with cambric lace, the tonne on a cradle; a chalice with the image of Christ and the lost sheep, and of the wise men and star, engraven on the sides and on the cover. The chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the *aire*, embroidered with coloured silk; two patins, the *trincanale* being a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes, for the water of mixture; a *credentia* or side table, with a basin and ewer on napkins, and a towel to wash before the consecration; three kneeling stools covered and stuffed, the foot pace with three ascents, covered with a Turkey carpet; three chairs used at ordinations, and the *septum* or rail with two ascents. Upon some altars there was a pot, called the incense pot, and a knife to cut the sacramental bread.

The consecration of this furniture was after this manner; the Archbishop in his cope, attended by two

chaplains in their surplices, having bowed several times towards the altar, read a portion of scripture; then the vessels to be consecrated were delivered into the hands of the Archbishop, who, after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, desiring God to bless and accept of these vessels, which he severally touched and elevated offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common use. We have seen already the manner of his grace's consecrating the sacramental elements at Creed Church; there was a little more ceremony in cathedrals, where the wafers and wine being first placed with great solemnity on the credentia or side table, were to be removed from thence by one of the Archbishop's chaplains, who as soon as he turns his face about to the altar with the elements in his hands, bows three times, and again when he comes to the foot of it, where he presents them upon his knees, and lays them upon the altar for consecration.

The lecturers or afternoon preachers, giving Laud some disturbance notwithstanding the attempts already made to suppress them, the King sent injunctions to the bishops of his province; by virtue of which injunctions no chaplainship to a nobleman's family, or any invitation to a lecture, could qualify a person for ordination without a living. In the annual account the Archbishop gave the King of the state of his province this year, it is evident how much the suppressing of these popular preachers lay upon his mind. But in this account there was very little complaint of the growth of popery, which was at a prodigious height; but all the Archbishop's artillery is pointed against the puritan clergy, who were the most determined and resolved protestants in the nation.

Towards the close of this year came on the famous trial of William Prynne, Esq. barrister at law, and member of Lincoln's-Inn, for his "*Matrimonialist*," a book written against plays, masques, dancing, &c. The information sets forth, that though the author knew, that the Queen and Lords of the council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against these and several others, as may-poles, christmas-keeping, dressing houses with ivy, festivals, &c. and that he had aspersed the

Queen, and commended factious persons. The cause was heard in the Star-chamber. The council for Mr. Prynne were Messrs. Atkins, Jenkins, Holborne, Herne, and Lightfoot. For the King was the Attorney-general. The council for the defendant pleaded, that he had handled the argument of stage-plays in a learned manner, without designing to reflect on his superiors; that the book had been licensed according to law; and that if any passages may be construed to reflect on his Majesty, or any branch of his government, he humbly begs pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the charge in very severe language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous libel. After a full hearing he was sentenced "To have his book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the bar, and to be forever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's-Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment."

A few months after, Dr. Bastwick, a physician at Colchester, having published a book, entitled "*Elenchus religionis papistice*," with an appendix, called "*Flagellum pontificis and episcoporum Latialium*," which gave offence to the English Bishops, because it denied the divine right of the order of Bishops above presbyters, was cited before the high commission, who discarded him from his profession, excommunicated him, fined him one thousand pounds, and imprisoned him till he recanted. Mr. Burton, minister of Friday-street, having published two exceptionable sermons, from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. entitled "For God and the King," against the late innovations, had his house and study broke open by a serjeant at arms, and himself committed close prisoner to the Gate-house, where he was confined several years. These terrible proceedings of the commissioners made many conscientious Non-conformists retire with their families to Holland and New England, for fear of falling into the hands of men, "whose tender mercies were cruelty." Among others who went over this year, was the learned Mr. J.

Cotton, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and minister of Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he was in such repute, that Dr. Preston and others from Cambridge, frequently visited him; he was an admired preacher, and of a most meek and gentle disposition: he became a non-conformist upon this principle, that no church had power to impose indifferent ceremonies, not commanded by Christ, on the consciences of men. He therefore omitted some of the ceremonies, and administered the sacrament to such as desired it without kneeling; for which he was informed against in the high commission; and Laud being now at the head of affairs, the Bishop of Lincoln his diocesan could not protect him. Mr. Cotton applied to the Earl of Dorset for his interest with the Archbishop, but the Earl sent him word, that "If he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such LESSER fault, he could have got his pardon, but the sin of puritanism and non-conformity is unpardonable, and therefore you must fly for your safety." Upon this he travelled to London in disguise, and took passage for New England, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Mr. J. Davenport, vicar of Coleman-street, London, resigned his living, and retired to Holland this summer. He had fallen under the resentments of Laud, for being concerned in the feoffments, which, together with some notices he received of being prosecuted for non-conformity, induced him to embark for Amsterdam, where he continued about three years, and then shipped himself with some other families for New England, where he began the settlement of New-Haven. He was a good scholar, and an admired preacher, but underwent great hardships in the infant colony, with whom he continued till he died.

Mr. T. Hooker, fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and lecturer of Chelmsford in Essex, after four years exercise of his ministry, was obliged to lay it down for non-conformity, though forty-seven conformable ministers in neighbourhood subscribed a petition to Laud, in which they declare, that Mr. Hooker was for doctrine orthodox, for life and conversation honest, for disposition peaceable, and in no wise turbulent or factious. Notwithstanding

which he was silenced by the spiritual court, and bound in a recognizance of fifty pounds to appear before the high commission; but by the advice of his friends, he forfeited his recognizance and fled to Holland; here he continued about two years fellow-labourer with old Mr. Forbes, a Scots man at Delft, from whence he was called to assist Dr. Ames at Rotterdam, upon whose death he returned to England, and being pursued by the Bishop's officers from place to place, he embarked for New-England, and settled with his friends upon the banks of the Connecticut River, where he died. He was an awakening preacher, and a considerable practical writer, as appears by his books of preparation for Christ, contrition, humiliation, &c.

The learned Dr. W. Ames, educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and became minister of the English church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the states of Friesland to the divinity chair in the University of Franeker, which he filled with universal reputation for twelve years. He was in the synod of Dort, and informed King James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that venerable assembly. He wrote several treatises in Latin against the arminians, which for their conciseness and perspicuity, were not equalled by any of his time. After twelve years he resigned his professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too sharp for him, he being troubled with such a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every winter would be his last; besides, he had a desire to be employed in the delightful work of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had disused for many years. Upon his removal to Rotterdam he wrote his "Fresh suit against ceremonies;" but his constitution was so shattered, that the air of Holland did him no service; upon which he determined to remove to New-England, but his asthma returning at the beginning of the winter before he sailed, put an end to his life. Next spring his wife and children embarked for New-England, and carried with them his valuable library of books, which was a rich treasure to the

country at that time. The doctor was a very learned divine, a strict calvinist in doctrine, and of the persuasion of the Independents, with regard to the subordination and power of classes and synods.

Laud being now chancellor of the University of Dublin, and having a new vice-chancellor disposed to serve the purposes of the prerogative, turned his thoughts against the calvinists of that kingdom, resolving to bring the church of Ireland to adopt the articles of the church of England. Archbishop Usher and some of his brethren, being informed of the design, moved in convocation, that their articles ratified by King James, might be confirmed; but the motion was rejected, because it was said, they were already fortified with all the authority the church could give them; and that a further confirmation would imply a defect. It was then moved on the other side, that for silencing the popish objections of a disagreement among protestants, a canon should be passed for approving the articles of the Church of England, which was done only with one dissenting voice. The Irish Bishops thought they had lost nothing by this canon, because they had saved their own articles, but Laud took advantage of it during the time of his chancellorship; for hereby the church of Ireland denounced the sentence of excommunication against all that affirmed any of the thirty-nine articles to be superstitious or erroneous, that is, against the whole body of the puritans; and Fuller adds, that their own articles which condemned arminianism, and maintained the morality of the sabbath, were utterly excluded.

This summer Mr. T. Shepard, M. A. fled to New-England. He had been lecturer at Earl's Coln, in Essex, several years, but when Laud became Bishop of London, his lecture was put down, and himself silenced; he then retired into the family of a private gentleman, but the Bishop's officers following him thither, he travelled into Yorkshire, where Neile, Archbishop of that province, commanded him to subscribe or depart the country; upon this he went to Hedon in Northumberland, where his labours were prospered, but the Bishop of Durham, by the direction of Laud, forbid his preaching in any part of his diocese. He then went to New-England, and continued pastor of

the church at Cambridge till his death, which happened in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was a hard student, an exemplary christian, and an eminent practical writer, as appears by his *Sincere Convert*, and other practical works that go under his name.

Laud having made some powerful efforts to bring the churches of Scotland and Ireland to an uniformity with England, resolved in his metropolitical visitation this summer, to reduce the Dutch and French churches to the same conformity; for this purpose he tendered them these three articles of enquiry:—1. Whether do you use the Dutch or French liturgy? 2. Of how many descents are you since you came to England? 3. Do such as are born here in England conform to the English ceremonies? The ministers and elders demurred upon these questions, and insisted upon their character of privileges granted by Edward the Sixth, and confirmed no less than five times in the reign of James, and twice by King Charles himself, by virtue of which they had been exempt from the archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdiction till this time; yet Laud without any regard to their charter, sent them the two following injunctions by his vicar-general:—1. That all that were born in England of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, should repair to the parish churches. 2. That those who were not natives, but came from abroad, while they remained strangers, might use their own discipline as formerly.

In this emergence the Dutch and Walloon churches petitioned for a toleration, and shewed the inconveniences that would arise from the Archbishop's injunctions. The mayor and corporation of Canterbury assured his grace, that above twelve hundred of their poor were maintained by the foreigners, and others interceded with the King in their favour; but his Majesty answered, "We must believe our Archbishop of Canterbury, who used their deputies very roughly, calling them a nest of schismatics, and telling them, it were better to have no foreign churches than to indulge their non-conformity. In conclusion he assured them that his Majesty was resolved his injunctions should be observed, and that he expected all obedience and conformity from them, which if they refused he would proceed against

the natives according to the laws and canons ecclesiastical. Accordingly some of their churches were interdicted, others shut up, and the assemblies dissolved; their ministers being suspended, many of their people left the kingdom, especially in the diocese of Norwich, where Bishop Wren drove away three thousand manufacturers in wool, cloth, &c. some of whom employed a hundred poor people at work; to the unspeakable damage of the kingdom. And as a further mark of disregard to the foreign protestants, the King's ambassador in France was forbid to frequent their religious assemblies as had been customary, in any parts where the reformed religion was exercised. The Church of England by this means lost the esteem of the reformed churches abroad, who could hardly pity her, when a few years after she sunk down into the deepest distress.

To give another instance of the Archbishop's disaffection to the foreign protestants, the Queen of Bohemia, the King's sister, solicited the King in the most pressing manner, to admit of a public collection over England for the poor persecuted ministers of the Palatinate, who were banished their country for their religion. Accordingly the King granted them a brief to go through the kingdom, but when it was brought to the Archbishop he excepted against the following clause:—"Whose cases are the more to be deplored, because this extremity is fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy *in the true religion which we together with them professed*, and which we are bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of our powers. Whereas these religious and godly persons being involved amongst others their countrymen, might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of trial, they would have submitted themselves to the *anti-christian yoke*, and have renounced or dissembled the profession of their religion." His grace had two exceptions to this passage. 1. The religion of the Palatinate churches is affirmed to be the same with ours, which he denied, because they were calvinists, and because their ministers had not episcopal ordination. 2. He objected to the Church of Rome's being an anti-christian yoke, because it would then follow that she was in

no capacity to convey sacerdotal power in ordinations, and consequently the benefit of the priesthood, and the force of holy ministrations would be lost in the English church, for as much as she has no orders but what she derives from the church of Rome. Laud having acquainted the King with his exceptions, they were expunged in another draught. But the collection not succeeding in this way, Drs. Sibbes, Gouge, and other divines of the puritan party, signed a private commendatory letter, desiring their friends to enlarge their charity, as to men of the same faith and profession with themselves, and promising to see the right distribution of the money ; but as soon as Laud heard of it, he cited the divines before the high commission, and put a stop to the collection.

This year put an end to the life of Mr. H. Clarke, born at Burton upon Trent, and educated partly at Cambridge, and partly at Oxford. He was first minister of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and then of Woolston in Warwickshire, from whence he was suspended, and afterwards excommunicated, for expounding upon the catechism. At length he was indicted for high treason, because he had prayed, "That God would forgive the Queen, (Elizabeth) her sins," but was acquitted. He was an awakening preacher, of a warm spirit, and a robust constitution, which he wore out with preaching twice every Lord's day, and frequently on the week days. His ministry met with great success even to his death, which happened in the seventy-second year of his age.

About the same time died the pious Mr. J. Carter. He was born in Kent and educated in Clare-Hall, Cambridge. He was first minister of Bramford in Suffolk for thirty-four years, and then rector of Bedstead in the same county ; and though often in trouble for his non-conformity, he made a shift by the assistance of friends, to maintain his liberty without any sinful compliance. He was mighty in prayer, frequent and fervent in preaching, and a resolute champion against popery, arminianism, and the new ceremonies. He lived to a good old age, and died suddenly, as he was laying down to sleep, in the eightieth year of his age, greatly lamented by all who knew him, and had a taste of practical religion and undissembled piety.

Conformity to the new ceremonies and the King's injunctions, was now pressed with the utmost rigor. Mr. Crook of Brazen Nose College, and Mr. Hobbes of Trinity College, Oxford, were enjoined a public recantation for reflecting upon the arminians. Mr. S. Ward, of Ipswich, having preached against the book of sports, and bowing at the name of Jesus, added, that "The church of England, was ready to ring changes in religion; and that the gospel stood a tip-toe, ready to be gone to America." For which he was suspended, and enjoined a public recantation. Another underwent the same censure, for saying "It was suspicious that the night was approaching, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of godliness."

The church-wardens of Beckington in Somersetshire, were excommunicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for refusing to remove the communion table from the middle of the chancel to the east end, and not pulling down the seats to make room for it. They produced a certificate, that their communion table had stood time out of mind in the midst of the chancel; that the ground on which it was placed, was raised a foot, and inclosed with a decent wainscot border, and that none went within it but the minister, and such as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the arches, and at last to the King; but their appeal was rejected. After they had remained excommunicated for a year, they were cast into the common jail, where they continued till 1637, and were then obliged to do public penance in the parish church of Beckington, and two others, the shame of which broke their hearts; one of them declaring upon his death-bed, soon after, that the penance and submission, so much against his conscience; had sunk his spirits, and was one principal cause of his death.

In the Archbishop's metropolitical visitation this summer, Mr. Lee, one of the prebendaries of Litchfield, was suspended, for churching refractory women in private, for being averse to the good orders of the church, and for ordering the bell-man to give notice in open market of a sermon. Mr. Randal of Tuddington near Hampton-Court, Middlesex, was suspended for preaching a sermon

adove an hour long on Sunday in the afternoon, though it was a farewell sermon to the exercise of catechising. His grace's account of his province this year, gives a farther relation of the sufferings of the puritans. He acquaints his Majesty, that the French and Dutch churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his injunctions. That in the diocese of London, Dr. Houghton, rector of Aldermanbury; Mr. Simpson, curate and lecturer of St. Margaret, Fish-street; Mr. J. Goodwin, vicar of Coleman-street, and Mr. Viner of St. Lawrance, Old-jewry, had been convened for breach of canons and had submitted; to whom his grace might have added Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White of Dorsetshire, and about twenty more: some of whom fled into Holland, and others to New England. The Bishop of Bath and Well certified, that he had not one single lecture in any corporation town, and that all afternoon sermons were turned into catechising in all parishes. In the diocese of Norwich were many puritans, but that Mr. Ward of Yarmouth was in the high commission. From the diocese of Landaff, Mr. Wroth and Mr. Earbury, two noted schismatics, were brought before the high commission. And that in the diocese of Gloucester, were several popular and factitious ministers.

It must be confessed, that the zeal of the puritans was not always well regulated: nor were their ministers so much on their guard in the pulpit, or conversation as they ought to have been, considering the number of informers that entered all their churches, that insinuated themselves into all public conversation, and like so many locusts, covered the land. Yet after all, it was next to impossible to escape these wretches, who were so numerous and corrupt, that the King was obliged to bring them under certain regulations; for no man was safe in public company, nor even in conversing with his friends and neighbours. Many broke up house-keeping, that they might breathe in a free air; which the council being informed of, a proclamation was published, forbidding all persons, except soldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to depart the Kingdom without his Majesty's licence.

But notwithstanding this prohibition, numbers went to New England this summer; and among others Mr. P. Bulkley, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He was son of Dr. E. Bulkley, of Bedfordshire, and succeeded him at Woodhill or Odel in that country. Here he continued about twenty years, the Bishop of Lincoln conniving at his non-conformity. But when Laud was at the helm of the church, and the Bishop of Lincoln in disgrace, Bulkley was silenced by the vicar-general Sir. N. Brent; upon which he sold a very plentiful estate, and transported himself and his effects to New England, where he died in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a thundering preacher, and a judicious divine, as appears by his treatise "Of the covenant," which passed through several editions, and was one of the first books published in that country:

Mr. R. Mather educated in Brazen-Nose College, Oxon, and minister of Toxteth near Liverpool for about fifteen years, a diligent and successful preacher, was suspended for non-conformity in 1633, but by the intercession of friends, after six months he was restored. Next summer the Archbishop of York sending his visitors into Lancashire, this good man was again suspended by Dr. Cosins, upon an information that he had not worn the surplice for fifteen years. After this no intercessions could obtain the liberty of his ministry; upon which he returned to New England; and settled at Dorchester, where he continued a plain and profitable preacher till he died. This was the grandfather of the famous Dr. Cotton Mather.

In Scotland the fire was kindling apace, which in three years time set both kingdoms in flame. The restoring episcopacy by the violent methods already mentioned, did not sit easy upon the people; the new Scots Bishops were of Laud's principles; they spoke very favourably of popery in their sermons, and cast some invidious reflections on the reformers: They declared openly for the doctrines of Arminius; for sports on the sabbath, and for the liturgy of the English church; which was imagined to be little better than the mass. This lost them their esteem with the people, who had been trained up in the doctrines and

discipline of Calvin, and in the strict observation of the Lord's day. But the King to support them, cherished them with expressions of the greatest respect and confidence; he made eleven of them privy counsellors; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was lord chancellor, and the Bishop of Ross was in nomination to be lord high treasurer; divers of them were of the Exchequer, and had engrossed the best secular preferments, which made them the envy of the nobility and gentry of the nation. The Bishops were so sensible of this, that they advised the King not to trust the intended alterations in religion to parliaments or general assemblies, but to introduce them by his regal authority.

When the King was last in Scotland, it was taken notice of as a great blemish in the kirk, that it had no liturgy or book of canons; to supply this defect the King gave order to the new Bishops, to prepare draughts of both, and remit them to London, to be revised by Bishops, Laud, Juxton, and Wren. The book of canons being first finished, was presented to the King, and by him delivered to Laud and Juxton to examine, alter and reform at pleasure, and to bring it as near as possible to a conformity with the English canons. The Bishops having executed their commission, and prepared it for the press, the King confirmed it under the great seal by letters patent.

It will here be proper to give the reader a specimen of these canons, which were subversive of the whole Scots constitution both in kirk and state. The first canon excommunicates all who affirm the power and prerogative of the King not to be equal with the Jewish Kings, that is, absolute and unlimited. The second excommunicates those who shall affirm, the worship contained in the book of common prayer, although that book was not then published, or the government of the kirk, to be superstitious, or unlawful. The fifth obliges all presbyters to read, or cause to be read divine service, according to the book of the Scottish common prayer, and to conform all the offices, parts, and rubrics of it. The book decrees further, that no assembly of the clergy shall be called out by the King. That none shall receive the sacrament but upon their knees. That every ecclesiastical person dying without children, shall give part of his estate to the church. That the clergy

shall have no private meetings for expounding scripture. That no clergyman shall conceive prayer, but pray only by the printed form to be prescribed in the book of common prayer, That no man shall teach school without a licence from the Bishop; nor any censures of the church be pronounced, but by the approbation of the Bishop. After sundry other canons of this nature appointing fonts for baptism, church ornaments, communion tables, or altars, &c. the book decrees, that no person shall be admitted to holy orders, or to preach or administer the sacraments, without first subscribing the forementioned canons.

This book was no sooner published, than the Scots presbyters declared peremptorily against it; their objections were of two sorts; they disliked the matter of the canons as inconsistent with their kirk government, and severer in some particulars than those of the church of England; they protested also against the manner of imposing them, without consent of parliament or general assembly. It was thought intolerable vassalage, by a people who had asserted the independent power of the church to convene assemblies of the clergy, and who had maintained that their decrees were binding, without the confirmation of the crown; to have the King and a few foreign Bishops dictate canons to them, without so much as asking their advice and consent. Such an high display of the supremacy could not fail of being highly resented by a church, that had never yielded it to the King in the latitude in which it had been claimed and exercised in England. Besides it was very preposterous to publish the book of canons before the book of common prayer, and to require submission and subscription to things that had no existence; for who could foretell what might be inserted in the common prayer-book? or what kind of service might be imposed upon the kirk? this looked to much like pinning the faith of a whole nation on the lawn sleeves.

Towards the end of this year died Dr. R. Sibbes, one of the most celebrated preachers of this time. He was born at Sudbury and educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, where he went through all the degrees. Having entered into the ministry, he was first chosen lecturer of Trinity

church in Cambridge, where his ministry was very successful, to the conversion and reformation of his hearers. He was appointed preacher to the honourable society of Gray's-Inn, London, in which station he became so famous, that besides the lawyers of the house, many of the nobility and gentry frequented his sermons. In 1625, he was chosen master of Catherine Hall, in the University of Cambridge, the government of which he made a shift to continue to his death, though he was turned out of his fellowship and lecture in the University for non-conformity, and often cited before the high commission. He was a divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the scriptures, a burning and shining light, and of a most humble, charitable disposition; but all these talents could not screen him from the fury of the times. His works discover him to have been of an heavenly, evangelical spirit, the comforts of which he enjoyed at his death.

To aggrandize the church yet further the Archbishop resolved to bring part of the business of Westminster-Hall, into the ecclesiastical courts. The civillians had boldly and unwarrantably opposed and protested against prohibitions, and other proceedings at law, in restraint of their spiritual courts, and had procured some privileges and orders from the King in favour of the ecclesiastical courts, which had greatly offended the gentlemen of the law. But the Archbishop now went a step further, and prevailed with the King to direct that half the masters in chancery should always be civil lawyers; and to declare that no others, of what condition soever, should serve him as masters of request. These were more akin to the church than the common lawyers; their places being in the Bishop's disposal, and therefore it was supposed their persons would be so too; but this was false policy, says Clarendon, because it disgusted a whole learned profession, who were more capable of diserving the church in their estates, inheritances and stewardships, than the church could hurt them in practice. Besides it was wrong in itself, for I have never yet spoken with one clergyman (continues the same historian,) who hath had experience of both litigations, that has not ingenuously confessed, that he

had rather in respect to his trouble, charge, and satisfaction to his understanding, have three suits depending in Westminster-Hall, than one in any ecclesiastical court.

As a further step towards the sovereign power of the church, Laud prevailed with the King to allow the Bishops to hold their ecclesiastical courts in their own names, and by their own seals, without the King's letters patents under the great seal; the judges having given it as their opinion, that a patent under the great seal was not necessary for examinations, suspensions, and other church censures. So that by this concession, the King dispensed with the laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted rights of his crown; and the Bishops were brought under a *præmunire*, for exercising spiritual jurisdiction without any special commission, patent, or grant, from, by or under his Majesty; whereas all jurisdiction of this kind ought to have been exercised in the King's name, and by virtue of his authority only, signified by letters patents under his Majesty's seal.

The Archbishop was no less intent upon enlarging his own jurisdiction, claiming a right to visit the two Universities *jure metropolitico*, which being referred to the King and council, his Majesty was pleased to give judgment against himself. As chancellor of Oxford his grace caused a new body of statutes to be drawn up for that University, with a preface, in which are some severe reflections on good King Edward and his government; it says, that the discipline of the University was discomposed, and troubled by the King's injunctions, and the flattering novelty of the age. It then commends, the reign of his sister the bloody Queen Mary, and says that the discipline of the church, revived and flourished again in her days, under Cardinal Pole, when by the much desired felicity of those times, an inbred candour supplied the defect of statutes. Was this spoken like a protestant prelate, whose predecessors in the sees of London and Canterbury were burnt at Oxford by Queen Mary, in a most barbarous manner! Or was it not rather speaking like one, who was aiming at the return of those unhappy times!

The last and most extravagant stretch of episcopal

power that I shall mention, was the Bishops framing new articles of visitation in their own names, without the King's seal and authority; and administering an oath of inquiry to the church-wardens concerning them. This was an outrage upon the laws, contrary to the act of submission, and even to the twelfth canon of 1603. It was declared contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, by the judges in the case of Mr. Wharton, who being church-warden of Black-Friars, London, was excommunicated and imprisoned, for refusing to take an oath, to present upon visitation articles; but bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was discharged by the whole court, both from his imprisonment and excommunication, for this reason, because the oath and articles were against the laws and statutes of this realm, and so might and ought to be refused. Upon the whole, the making the mitre thus independent of the crown, and not subject to a prohibition from the courts of Westminster-Hall, was setting up *imperium in imperio*, and going a great way towards re-establishing one of the heaviest grievances of the papacy; but the Bishops presumed upon the felicity of the times, and the indulgence of the crown, which at another time might have involved them in a *præmunire*.

By virtue of the oath, imposed upon the church-wardens, some out of conscience thought themselves obliged to present their ministers, their neighbours, and their near relations, not for immorality, or neglect of the worship of God, but for omitting some superstitious injunction. Others acted from revenge, having an opportunity put into their hands to ruin their conscientious neighbours. Many church-wardens refused to take the oath, and were imprisoned, and forced to do penance. But to prevent this for the future, it was declared, that if any man affirmed, it was not lawful to take the oath of a church-warden; or that it was not lawfully administered; or that the oath did not bind; or that the church-wardens need not inquire; or after inquiry need not answer; or might leave out part of their answers; such persons should be presented and punished.

Several of the Bishops published their primary articles

of visitation about this time, but the most remarkable and curious were Dr. Wren's, Bishop of Norwich, entitled, "Articles to be inquired of within the diocese of Norwich, in the first visitation of Matth w, Lord Bishop of Norwich." The book contains one hundred and thirty-nine articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, some very insignificant, others highly superstitious, and several impossible to be answered. But the weight of these inquiries fell chiefly upon the puritans, for within the compass of two years and four months, no less than fifty able and pious ministers were suspended, silenced, and otherwise censured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of these articles. Some spent their days in silence; others left their country; and none were released without a promise to conform to the Bishop's injunctions already published, or **HEREAFTER TO BE PUBLISHED !!** Bishop Montague, who succeeded Wren in the diocese of Norwich, imitated his predecessor in his visitation articles; it being now fashionable for every new Bishop to frame separate articles of inquiry for the visitation of his own diocese. Montague pointed his inquiries against the puritan-lecturers.

Dr. Pierse, Bishop of Bath and Wells, suppressed all lectures in market towns, and elsewhere throughout his diocese, alleging "that he saw no such need of preaching now, as was in the apostle's days." He suspended Mr. Devenish, minister of Bridgewater, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market day, which had continued ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth; and afterwards, when he absolved him upon his promise to preach it no more, he said to him, "Go thy way, sin no more, lest a worst thing befall thee." His Lordship put down all afternoon sermons on Lord's days; and suspended Mr. Cornish for preaching a funeral sermon on the evening. And whereas some ministers used to explain the questions and answers in the catechism, and make a short prayer before and after, the Bishop reproved them sharply for it, saying "that was as bad as preaching," and charged them to ask no questions, nor receive any answers but such as were in the book of Common Prayer: and for not complying with this injunction, Mr. Barret,

rector of Barwick, and some others, were enjoined public penance. The Bishop of Peterborough, and all the new Bishops, went in the same tract; and some of them upon this sad principle,—“That afternoon sermons on Sundays, were an impediment to the revels in the evening.”

The church was now in the height of its triumphs, and grasped not only at all spiritual jurisdiction, but at the capital preferments of state. This year Dr. Juxton, Bishop of London, was declared lord high treasurer of England, which is the first office of profit and power in the kingdom, and has precedence next to the Archbishop. Juxton's name had hardly been known at court above two years; till then he was no more than a private chaplain to the King, and head of a poor college in Oxford. Besides, no churchman had held this post since the darkest times of popery, in the reign of Henry the Seventh. When the staff of treasurer was put into the hands of Juxton, Clarendon observes, that the nobility were enflamed, and began to look upon the church as a gulph ready to swallow all the great offices of state, there being other church-men in view who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. The inferior clergy took advantage of this situation of their affairs, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or patrons, with that civility and good manners as they used to do, which disposed others to withdraw their countenance and good neighbourhood from them, especially after they were put into the commission of peace, in most counties of England. One of the members of the house of commons said, “That the clergy were so exalted, that a gentleman might not come near the tail of their mules; and that one of them had declared openly, that he hoped to see the day, when a clergyman should be as good a man as any *upstart Jack gentlemen* in the kingdom.” It is certain, the favourable aspect of the court had very much exalted their behaviour, and their new notions had made them conceive themselves an order of men above the rank of the laity, for as much as they had the keys of the kingdom of heaven at their girdle, and upon their priestly character depended the efficacy of all gospel institutions. This made some

of them remarkable negligent of their cures up and down the country; others lost the little learning they had acquired at the University, and many became very scandalous in their lives; though Clarendon says, that there was not one church-man in any degree of favour or acceptance, at court, of a scandalous insufficiency in learning, or of a more scandalous condition of life; but on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemished lives.

Great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond from the fury of the high commission; among whom were the famous Mr. J. Dod; and Mr. J. Rogers, of Dedham, one of the most awakening preachers of his age, of whom Bishop Brownrigge used to say, that he did more good with his *wild notes*, than we with our *set music*. Yet his great usefulness could not screen him from those suspensions and deprivations which were the portion of the puritans in these times. His resolutions about subscribing I will relate in his own words:—"If I come into trouble for non-conformity, I resolve by God's assistance, to come away with a clear conscience; for though the liberty of my ministry be dear to me, I dare not buy it at such a rate. I am troubled at my former subscription, but I saw men of good gifts, and of good hearts, as I thought, go before me; but if I am urged again I will never yield; it was my weakness before, as I now conceive, which I beseech God to pardon." But after this, the good man was overtaken again and yielded, which almost broke his heart. How severe are such trials to a poor man with a numerous family of children! And how sore the distresses of a wounded conscience.

Others continued to leave their country. Among these were Mr. N. Rogers, son of Mr. J. Rogers, of Dedham, educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and settled at Assington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but seeing the storm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own steadfastness in the hour of temptation, he resigned his living into the hands of his patron, and forsaking the neighbourhood of his

father, and all prospects of worldly advantage, cast himself and his young family upon the providence of God, embarked for New England, and settled with Mr. Norton at Ipswich, with whom he continued to his death.

The Star-chamber and high commission exceeded all the bounds not only of law and equity, but even of humanity itself. We have related the sufferings of Messrs. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. These gentlemen being shut up in prison, were supposed to employ their time in writing against the Bishops and their spiritual courts: Bastwick was charged with a book, entitled "*Apologeticus ad præsules anglicanos*;" and with a pamphlet called "*The new Litany*." The others with two anonymous books, one entitled "A divine tragedy, containing a catalogue of God's judgments against sabbath breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich." Which last was a satire upon the severe proceedings of Dr. Wren, Bishop of that diocese. For these they were cited a second time into the Star-chamber, by virtue of an information laid against them by the Attorney-general, for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books, against the hierarchy of the church; and to the scandal of the government. When the defendants had prepared their answers, they could not get counsel to sign them; upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themselves, which would not be admitted: however Prynne and Bastwick, having no other remedy, left their answers at the office, signed with their own hands, but were nevertheless proceeded against *pro confesso*. Burton prevailed with Mr. Holt, a benchet of Gray's-Inn, to sign his answer; but the court ordered the two chief justices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into court, and they struck out the whole answer, except six lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end; and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was also taken *pro confesso*.

In Bastwick's answer the prelates are called invaders of the King's prerogative, contemners and despisers of the holy scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry and profaneness; they are charged with oppressing the King's loyal subjects, and with great cruelty, tyranny,

and injustice. Mr. Prynne's answer reflected upon the hierarchy, though in more moderate and cautious terms. All the defendants offered to maintain their several answers, at the peril of their lives; but the court finding them not filed upon record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the bar cried aloud for justice, and that their answers might be read; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following sentence passed upon them:—"That Mr. Burton be deprived of his living, and degraded from his ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had been from their professions of law and physic; that each of them be fined five thousand pounds; and that they stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Mr. Prynne had already lost his ears by sentence of the court 1633, it was ordered that the remainder of his stumps should be cut off, and that he should be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letters S. L. and then all three were to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest prisons of the kingdom." This sentence was executed upon them, the hangman rather sawing the remainder of Prynne's ears than cutting them off; after which they were sent under a strong guard, one to the castle of Launceston in Cornwall, another to the castle of Lancaster, and a third to Carnarvon castle in Wales; but these prisons not being thought distant enough, they were afterwards removed to the Islands of Sicily, Guernsey, and Jersey, where they were kept without the use of pen, ink, or paper, or the access of friends, till they were released by the long parliament!

At passing this sentence, Laud made a laboured speech, to clear himself from the charge of innovations, with which the puritans loaded him. But notwithstanding this speech, which the King^e ordered to be printed, the barbarous sentence passed upon these gentlemen moved the compassion of the whole nation. The three learned faculties of law, physic, and divinity, took it to heart, as thinking their educations and professions might have secured them from such infamous punishments, proper enough for the vilest malefactors, who could make no other satisfaction to the public for their offences; but very improper for persons of education, degrees, or

quality. Nay, the report of this censure, and the smart execution of it, flew into Scotland, and the discourse was there that they must also expect a Star-chamber to strengthen the hands of their Bishops, as well as an high commission.

Cruel as this sentence was, Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Mr. Osbaldeston, chief master of Westminster-school, met with no less hardship. The Bishop had been Laud's very good friend, in persuading King James to advance him to a bishopric; but upon the accession of King Charles, he turned upon his benefactor, and got him removed from all his preferments at court; upon which Bishop Williams retired to his diocese, and spent his time in reading and in the good government of his diocese; here he became popular, entertaining the clergy at his table, and discoursing freely about affairs of church and state. He spoke with some smartness against the new ceremonies; and said once in conversation, "That the puritans were the King's best subjects, and he was sure would carry all at last; and that the King had told him that he would treat the puritans more mildly for the future." Laud being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the Star-chamber, for revealing the King's secrets; but the charge not being well supported, a new bill was exhibited against him, for tampering with the King's witnesses; and though there was very little ground for the charge, his lordship was suspended in the high commission court from all his offices and benefices; he was fined ten thousand pounds to the King, one thousand pounds to Sir J. Mounson, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure. The Bishop was accordingly sent from the bar to the Tower; all his rich goods and chattels, to an immense value, were plundered and sold to pay the fine; his library seized, and all his papers and letters examined. Among his papers were found two or three letters wrote to him by Mr. Osbaldeston about five years before, in which were some dark and obscure expressions, which the jealous Archbishop interpreted against himself and the Lord Treasurer Weston. Upon the foot of these letters a new bill was exhibited against the Bishop for divulging scan-

dalous libels against the King's privy counsellors. His lordship replied that he did not remember his having received the letters, and was sure he had never divulged them, because they were still among his private papers; but notwithstanding all he could say, he was condemned in a fine of eight thousand pounds; five thousand to the King, and three thousand to the Archbishop, for the non-payment of which he was kept close prisoner in the Tower, till the meeting of the long parliament.

Mr. Osbaldeston was charged with plotting with the Bishop of Lincoln, to divulge false news, and to breed a difference between the Lord Treasurer Weston, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as long ago as the year 1633. The information was grounded upon the two letters already mentioned, in which he reports a misunderstanding between the great *leviathan* and the little *urchin*. And though the counsel for the defendant, absolutely denied any reference to the Archbishop, and named the persons meant in the letter, yet the court fined him five thousand pounds to the King, and five thousand pounds to the Archbishop, to be deprived of all his spiritual dignities and promotions, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and to stand in the pillory in the dean's yard, before his own school, *and have his ears nailed to it*. Mr. Osbaldeston being among the crowd in the court when this sentence was pronounced, immediately went home to his study at Westminster-school, and having burnt some papers absconded, leaving a note upon his desk with these words, "If the Archbishop inquire after me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury." The messengers were soon at his house, and finding this note, sent immediately to the sea-ports to apprehend him; but he lay hid in a private house in Drury-lane till the search was over, and then concealed himself till the meeting of the long parliament; however, all his goods and chattels were seized and confiscated. He was afterwards restored by the long parliament, but when he ~~was~~ apprehended they went beyond the bounds of their duty and allegiance, he laid down his school and favoured the royal cause.

Mr. Lilburne, afterwards a colonel in the army, for refusing to take an oath to answer all interrogatories

concerning his importing and publishing seditious libels, was fined five hundred pounds, and to be whipped through the streets from the Fleet to the pillory before Westminster Hall gate. While he was in the pillory he uttered many bold and passionate speeches against the tyranny of the Bishops; whereupon the court of Star-chamber then sitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly; and that when he was carried back to prison he should be laid alone with irons on his hands and legs, in the wards of the Fleet, where the basest of the prisoners used to be put, and that no person should be admitted to see him. Here he continued in a most forlorn and miserable condition till the meeting of the long parliament,

In the midst of all these dangers the puritan clergy spoke freely against their oppressors. Dr. C. Burges in a sermon before the clergy of London, preached against the severities of the Bishops, and refusing to give his diocesan a copy of his sermon, was put into the high commission. Mr. Wharton of Essex, preached with the same freedom at Chelmsford, for which, it is said, he made his submission. Several pamphlets were dispersed against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, which the Bishop of London declared he had reason to believe were wrote, or countenanced by the clergy of his own diocese. Many private gentlemen in Suffolk, maintained lecturers at their own expence, without consulting the Bishop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themselves according to the canons. Here was the puritans' last retreat; those who were not willing to go abroad found entertainment in gentlemen's families, and from thence annoyed the enemy with their pamphlets. Even the populace who were not capable of writing expressed their resentments against the Archbishop by dispersing libels about the town, in which they threatened his destruction. Yet none of these things abated his zeal, or relaxed his rigor against those who censured his arbitray proceedings. But these proceedings, instead of serving the interests of the church or state, awakened the resentments of all ranks and professions of men, against those in power: the laity were as uneasy as the clergy, many of whom sold their effects and removed with their families

and trades into Holland, or New-England. This alarmed the King and council, who issued out a proclamation, commanding that his officers of the several ports should suffer none to pass out of the kingdom, without licence from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church. And by a subsequent order of council, no clergyman was to transport himself without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London.

This was a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the christian world. When the Edict of Nantz was revoked, the French King allowed his protestant subjects convenient time to dispose of their effects and depart the kingdom; but our protestant Archbishop will neither let the puritans live peaceably at home, nor take sanctuary in foreign countries; a conduct hardly consistent with the laws of humanity, much less with the character of a christian Bishop; but while his grace was running things to these extremities, the people were generally disgusted, and almost all England became puritan.

The bishops and courtiers not being insensible of the number and weight of their enemies among the more resolved protestants, determined to balance their power by joining the papists; for which purpose the differences between the two churches were said to be trifling, and the peculiar doctrines of popery preached up, as proper to be received by the church of England. Bishop Montague speaking of the points of faith and morality affirmed, that none of these are controverted between us, but that the points in dispute were of a lesser nature, of which a man might be ignorant without any danger of salvation. *Franciscus de Clara*, an eminent Franciscan friar, published a book, wherein he endeavoured to accommodate the articles of the church of England to the sense of the church of Rome, so that both parties might subscribe them. The book was dedicated to the King, and the friar admitted to an acquaintance with the Archbishop.

Great stress was laid upon the uninterrupted succession of the episcopal character through the church of Rome: for miserable were we, says Dr. Pocklington, if he that

now sits Archbishop of Canterbury, could not derive his succession from St. Austin, St. Austin from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter. Bishop Montague published a treatise, of the invocation of saints, in which he says, that departed saints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection and power, as angels have also, over certain persons and countries by special deputation; and that it is not impiety so to believe. Dr. Cosins says in one of his sermons, that when our reformers took away the mass they marred all religion; but that the mass was not taken away, inasmuch as the real presence of Christ remained still, otherwise it were not a reformed, but a deformed religion. And in order to persuade a papist to come to church, he told him, that the body of Christ was substantially and really in the sacrament. Mr. Adams, in a sermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, asserted the expedience of auricular confession, saying it was as necessary to salvation as meat is to the body. Others preached up the doctrine of penance, and of authoritative priestly absolution for sin. Some maintained the proper merit of good works, in opposition to the received doctrine of justification by faith. Others, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there was a full and proper sacrifice for sin: and some declared for images, crucifixes, and pictures in churches, for purgatory, and for preserving, reverencing and even praying to the reliques of saints.

Remarkable are the words of Heylin, "The greatest part of the controversy between us and the church of Rome, says he, not being in fundamentals, or in any essential points of the christian religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it but as a most christian and pious work, to endeavour an agreement in the superstructure; as to the lawfulness of it, I could never see any reason produced against it: against the impossibility of it, it has been objected that the church of Rome will yield nothing; if therefore there be an agreement, it must not be their meeting us, but our going to them; but that all in the church of Rome are not so stiff, appears from the testimony of the Archbishop of Spalato, who acknowledged that

the articles of the church of England were not heretical. Now if without prejudice to truth, the controversies might be composed, it is most probable that other protestant churches would have sued to be included in the peace; if not, the church of England will lose nothing by it, as being hated by the calvinists, and not loved by the lutherans." This was the ridiculous court scheme which Laud used all his interest to accomplish; and is no impertinent story to our present purpose, because it is well attested, that a certain countess having turned papist, was asked by the Archbishop the cause of her changing: to whom she replied, "It was because she always hated to go in a crowd." Being asked again the reason of that expression, she answered that she "Perceived his grace and many others were making haste to Rome, and therefore to prevent going in a press she had gone before them."

It is certain the papists were in high reputation at court; the King counted them his best subjects and relaxed the penal laws, on pretence that hereby foreign catholic princes might be induced to shew favour to their subjects of the reformed religion. Within the compass of four years, seventy-four letters of grace were signed by the King's own hand; sixty-four priests were dismissed from the Gate-house, and twenty-nine by warrant from the secretary of state, at the instance of the Queen, the Queen's mother, or some foreign ambassador. Protections were frequently granted, to put a stop to the proceedings of the courts of justice against them. I have before me a list of popish recusants convicted in the twenty-nine English counties of the southern division, from the first of King Charles to the sixteenth, which amounts to no less than eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy, all of whom were released and pardoned. And if their numbers were so great in the south, how must they abound in the northern and Welsh counties, where they are computed three to one! Many of them were promoted to places of the highest honour and trust; and were in high favour with the King. The Pope had a nuncio in England, and the Queen an agent at Rome; Cardinal Barberini was made protector of the English nation, and a society was formed under the title of "The congregation for propogating the

faith." Smith, titular Bishop of Chalcedon, exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the English catholics by commission from the Pope; he conferred orders, and appeared in Lancashire with his mitre and crosier; the Pope's legate gained over several of the gentry, and attempted the King himself by presents of little popish toys and pictures, with which his Majesty was wonderfully delighted. The papists had a common purse, with which they purchased several monopolies, and bestowed the profits upon their best friends; several of their military men were put into commission, and great numbers were listed in his Majesty's armies against the Scots.

From these facts it is evident there never was a stronger combination in favour of popery, nor was the protestant religion at any time in a more dangerous crisis, being deserted by its pretended friends, while it was secretly undermining by its most powerful enemies. The case was the same with the civil liberties and properties of the people; no man had any thing that he could call his own any longer than the King pleased; for in the famous trial of Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamshire, in the case of ship-money, all the judges of England, except Crook and Hatton, gave it for law, "That the King might levy taxes on the subject by writ under the great seal, without grant of parliament, in cases of necessity; or when the kingdom was in danger; of which danger and necessity his Majesty was the sole and final judge; and that by law his Majesty might compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness." This determination was entered in all the courts of Westminster-hall: and the judges were commanded to declare it in their circuits throughout the kingdom, to the end that no man might plead ignorance. While these extraordinary methods of raising money were built only upon the PREROGATIVE, people were more patient, hoping that some time or other the law would recover its power; but when they were declared by all the judges to be the very law itself, and a rule for determining suits between the King and subject, they were struck with despair, and concluded very justly that *Magna Charta* and the old English constitution were at an end.

Let the reader now recollect himself, and then judge of the candour of Clarendon, who notwithstanding the cruel persecutions and oppressions already mentioned, celebrates the felicity of these times in the following words:—"From the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year of the King, to the beginning of the long parliament, (twelve years) all his Majesty's dominions, enjoyed the greatest calm, and fullest measure of felicity that any people have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all other parts of christendom. The court was in great plenty, or rather excess and luxury; the country rich and enjoying the pleasures of its own wealth; the church flourished with learned and extraordinary men; and the protestant religion was more advanced against the Church of Rome by the writings of Archbishop Laud, and Chillingworth, than it had been since the reformation. Trade increased to that degree, that we were the exchange of christendom. The reputation of the greatness and power of the King with foreign princes was much more than any of his progenitors. And all these blessings, were enjoyed under the protection of a King of the most harmless disposition, the 'most exemplary piety, and the greatest sobriety, chastity, and mercy, that any prince had been endowed with, and who might have said that which Pericles was proud of upon his death-bed, concerning his citizens, "That no Englishman had worn a mourning gown through his occasion."

Not a line of this panegyric will bear examination. When his lordship says, "That no people in any age had been blessed with so great a calm, and such a full measure of felicity for twelve years," he seems to have undervalued the long and pacific reign of his Majesty's royal father, who was distinguished by the title of *blessed*. But where was the liberty or safety of the subject, when *magna charta* and the petition of right, were swallowed up in the gulph of arbitrary power? and the statute laws of the land were exchanged for a rule of government depending upon the will and pleasure of the crown? If the court was in excess and luxury, it was with the plunder of the people, arising from illegal taxes. The country was so far from growing rich and wealthy, that it was every

year draining off its inhabitants and substance, as appears by his Majesty's proclamations, forbidding any of his subjects to transport themselves and their effects, without his special licence. Was it possible that trade could flourish, when almost every branch of it was engrossed, and sold by the crown for large sums of money, and when the property of the subject was so precarious that the King might call for it upon any occasion, and in case of refusal ruin the proprietor by exorbitant fines and imprisonment? Did no Englishman "wear a mourning gown in these times," when the Seldens, the Hollis's, the Elliots, the Strouds, the Hobarts, the Valentines, the Coritons, and other patriots, were taken out of the parliament-house, and shut up for many years in close prisons, and where some of them perished? How many of the nobility and gentry were punished with exorbitant fines in the Star-chamber? How many hundred ministers and others were ruined in the high commission, or forced from their native country into banishment, contrary to law? The gaols in the several counties were never free from state or church prisoners during the past twelve years of his Majesty's reign, and yet it seems no Englishman wore a mourning gown through his occasion! ~~It is~~ possible to believe, that the reputation of the greatness and power of Charles the first, with foreign princes, (however harmless, pious, sober, chaste and merciful he might be) was equal to that of Queen Elizabeth, or Henry the eighth? What service did he do by his arms or counsels for the protestant religion, or for the liberties or tranquillity of Europe? When his Majesty's affairs were in the greatest distress, what credit had he abroad? Or where was the foreign prince, except his own son in law, that would lend him either men or money? If the protestant religion was advanced in speculation by the writings of Archbishop Laud, and Chillingworth; is it not sufficiently evident that the Roman catholics were prodigiously increased in numbers, reputation and influence? Upon the whole, the people of England were so far from "enjoying a full measure of felicity," that they groaned under a yoke of the heaviest oppression, and were prepared to lay hold of any opportunity to assert their liberties; so that to make his

lordship's representation of the times consistent with truth, or with his own behaviour in the beginning of the long parliament, one is almost tempted to suspect it must have received some amendments or colourings from the hands of his editors. This was the state of affairs at the end of the pacific part of this reign, and forwards to the beginning of the long parliament.

CHAP. IV.



CHARLES I.

Scots Liturgy.—The Tumults occasioned by the imposition of it.—Protest againsts it.—Bond of defence.—General Assembly at Glasgow.—The Lord Commissioner dissolves them.—They continue Sitting.—Preparations of the English Court against them.—First Scots War.—Proceedings of the High Commission.—Puritan Ministers remove to New-England.—Others remove to Holland.—The King marches against the Scots.—General Assembly at Edinburgh.—Scots Parliament.—The English encourage the Scots.—The King raises Money by Prerogative.—Mutinous disposition of the People.—Proceedings of the Convocation.—ET CÆTERA Oath.—Second Scots War.—Sad condition of the Court at the calling of the Long Parliament.—Death of Dr. Neile, Archbishop of York.

WE are now entering upon a scene of calamity which opened in the north, and in a few years, like a rising tempest, overspread both kingdoms, and involved them in all the miseries of a civil war. If Laud could have been content with being metropolitan of the Church of England alone, he might have gone to his grave in peace, but grasping at the jurisdiction of another church founded upon different principles, he pulled down both upon his head and was buried in the ruins.

We have mentioned the preposterous publishing the Scots book of canons a year before their liturgy, which

was not finished till October, 1636. His Majesty's designs in compiling it were to curb such of his subjects in Scotland as were inclined to puritanism, and that the Roman party might not upbraid us with any material differences: and yet it was so far distinct, that it might be truly reputed a book of that church's composing.

The compilers of this liturgy were chiefly Dr. Wederburne, a Scots divine, beneficed in England, but now Bishop of Dunblain; and Dr. Maxwell, Bishop of Rosse. Their instructions from England were, to keep such catholic saints in their calendar as were in the English, and that such new saints as were added should be the most approved, but in no case to omit St. George and St. Patrick; that in the book of orders, those words in the English book be not changed, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost:" and that lessons out of the apocrypha be inserted; besides these, the word presbyter was inserted instead of priest; and the water in the font for baptism was to be consecrated. There was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; some passages in the communion were altered in favour of the real presence; the rubrics contained instructions to the people, when to stand and when to sit or kneel; to all which the Scots had hitherto been strangers. The main parts of the liturgy were the same with the English, and it was revised, corrected, and altered by Archbishop Laud, and Bishop Wren.

The liturgy thus modelled, was sent into Scotland, with a royal proclamation, commanding all his Majesty's subjects of that kingdom to receive it with reverence, "As the only form his Majesty thinks fit to be used in that kirk," without so much as laying it before a convocation, synod, general assembly, or parliament of that nation. It was appointed to be read first on Easter Sunday, 1637, against which time all parishes were to be provided with two books at least; but the outcries of the people against it were so vehement, that it was thought adviseable to delay it, that the Lords of the session might see the success of it before the end of the term, in order to report in their several counties the peaceable receiving the book at Edinburgh and parts adjacent. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with some of his more prudent brethren, fore-

seeing the disorders that would arise, advised the deferring it yet longer, but Laud was so sanguine of success, that he procured a warrant from the King, commanding the Scots Bishops to go forward at all events, threatening that if they moved heavily, or threw in unnecessary delays, the King would remove them, and fill their sees with church-men of more zeal and resolution.

In obedience therefore to the royal command, notice having been given in all the pulpits of Edinburgh, that the Sunday following, the new service book would be read in all the churches, there was a vast concourse of people at St. Giles's, where both the Archbishops and divers Bishops, together with the Lords of the session, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and many of the council were assembled; but as soon as the dean began to read, the service was interrupted by clapping of hands, and an hideous noise among the meaner sort of people at the lower end of the church; which the Bishop of Edinburgh observing, stept into the pulpit and endeavoured to quiet them, but the disturbance increasing, a stool was thrown towards the desk; upon which the provost and bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty thrust out the populace and shut the church doors; yet such were the clamours from without, rapping at the doors, and throwing stones at the windows, that it was with much difficulty the dean went through with the service; and when he and the Bishop came out of the church in their habits, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob who followed them, crying out pull them down, *a pape, a pape*, anti-christ, &c.

Between the two sermons the magistrates took proper measures for keeping the peace in the afternoon, but after evening prayer the tumult was greater than in the morning; for the Earl of Roxborough returning to his lodgings with the Bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones and pressed upon by the multitude, that both were in danger of their lives. The clergy who read the liturgy in the other churches met with the like usage, insomuch that the whole city was in an uproar, though it did not yet appear that any besides the meaner people were concerned in it; however the Lords of the council thought

proper to dispense with reading the service next Sunday, till their express returned from England with further instructions, which Laud dispatched with all expedition, telling them, "It was the King's firm resolution that they should go on with their work;" and blaming them highly for suspending it. Among the ministers who opposed reading the liturgy were Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Bruce, who were charged with letters of horning for their disobedience. But they stood by what they had done, and gave such reasons for their conduct as were of weight with the council, but they durst not shew favour to the prisoners without allowance from England, which could not be obtained; the zealous Archbishop stopping his ears against all gentle methods of accommodation, hoping to bear down all opposition with the royal authority.

While the country people were busy at harvest, things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to Edinburgh in great numbers and raised new disturbances, upon which the council issued out three proclamations; one for the people that came out of the country to return home; a second for removing the session or term from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and a third for calling in and burning a seditious pamphlet, called, "A discourse against the English popish ceremonies, obtruded on the kirk of Scotland." These proclamations inflamed the people to such a degree, that the very next day, the Bishop of Galloway would have been torn in pieces by the mob as he was going to the council-house, if he had not been rescued: but missing of his lordship they beset the council-house, and threatened to break open the door; in so much that the lords were obliged to send for some of the popular nobility in town to their relief; however the people would not disperse, till the council had promised to join with the other lords in petitioning the King against the service book, and to restore the silenced ministers.

Soon after this, two petitions were presented to the Lord Chancellor and council against the liturgy and canons, which were immediately transmitted to the King, who, instead of returning a soft answer, ordered a pro-

clamation to be published from Sterling, against the late disorderly tumults, in which, after having declared his abhorrence of all superstition and popery, he expressed his displeasure against the petitioners; and to prevent any further riots his Majesty order the session to be removed from Linlithgow to Sterling, with a strict injunction that no stranger should resort thither without special licence. His Majesty also forbad all assemblies or convocations of people to frame or sign petitions upon pain of high treason, and yet declared at the same time that he would not shut his ears against them, if neither the form or matter were prejudicial to his royal authority. Upon publishing this proclamation, sundry noblemen, barons, ministers, and burghers, met together, and signed a protest, in which they assert their right to petition the King; and having declared themselves in strong terms against the power of the Bishops, they solemnly affirm that all their proceedings in this affair have no other tendency but the preservation of the true reformed religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

The council being apprehensive of danger from these large assemblies and combinations of people, agreed that if they would return peaceably to their houses, they might appoint some of their number of all ranks and orders to represent the rest, till his Majesty's pleasure concerning their protest should be further known. Accordingly four tables, as they were called, were erected at Edinburgh: one of the nobility, another of the gentry, a third of the boroughs, and a fourth of the ministers. These prepared and digested matters for the general table, formed of commissioners, from the other four, where the last and binding resolutions were taken. One of the first things concluded upon by the tables, was the renewing their confession of faith and the solemn league and covenant, subscribed by King James and his household; and by the whole Scots nation. To this covenant was now added a narrative of sundry acts of parliament, by which the reformed religion had been ratified since that time, with an admonition, wherein the late innovations were renounced, and a band of

defence of the liberties of their country, and the administration of justice against all his enemies, in which, after reciting the King's coronation oath, they declare the late innovations brought into the kirk to be contrary to the doctrine and discipline of it, and contrary to their covenant, and therefore they will forbear the practice of them till they are tried, and allowed in a free assembly, and in parliament; and not only so, but they promise to resist all these errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power. They then promise and swear over again, to defend the King's person and authority in the preservation of the true religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to assist and stand by one another at all adventures, without suffering themselves to be divided by any allurements or terror from this blessed and loyal conjunction, and without being afraid of the odious aspersions of rebellion or combination, which their adversaries may cast upon them. And conclude with calling the searcher of hearts to witness to their sincerity, as they shall answer it to Christ in the day of account, and under pain of the loss of all honours and respect in this world, and God's everlasting wrath in the next. All this was sworn to and subscribed with great seriousness and devotion, first at Edinburgh, and afterwards in the several counties and shires, where it was received by the common people as a sacred oracle, and subscribed by all who were thought to have any zeal for the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country. The privy counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and the friends of arbitrary power, were the principal persons who refused. The Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen were said to oppose it, and these of Glasgow did not subscribe without some limitations.

There cannot be a more solemn and awful engagement to God, and each other than this! What the reasons were that induced King James, and the whole Scots nation, to enter into it in 1580, and 1590, are not necessary to be determined; but certainly such a combination of subjects, without the consent of their sovereign, in a well settled government is unwarrantable.

especially when it is confirmed with an oath, as no oath ought to be administered but by commission from the chief magistrate. The only foundation therefore upon which this covenant can be vindicated is, that the Scots apprehended their legal church establishment had been broken in pieces by the King's assuming the supremacy, by his erecting an high commission, and by his imposing upon them a book of canons and liturgy, without consent of parliament or general assembly.

The council sent advice of the proceedings of the covenanters from time to time, and acquainted his Majesty, that the cause of all the commotions was the fear of innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the kirk, by introducing the liturgy, canons, and high commission; that it was therefore their humble opinion, that the reading the service book should not be urged at present. Upon this the King sent the Marquis of Hamilton, his high commissioner, into Scotland, with instructions to consent to the suspending the use of the service book for the present, but at the same time to dissolve the tables, and to require the covenant to be delivered up within six weeks. His Majesty adds, "That if there be not sufficient strength in the kingdom to oblige the covenanters to return to their duty, he will come in person from England at the head of a sufficient power to force them;" and in the mean time, the Marquis is empowered to use all hostile acts against them as a rebellious people.

Upon the Marquis's arrival at Holyrood-house, he was welcomed by great numbers of the covenanters of all ranks and qualities, in hopes that he would call a general assembly and a free parliament; but when he told them this was not in his instructions, they went home full of resentments. The people nailed up the organ loft in the church, and admonished the Marquis not to read the liturgy. The ministers cautioned their hearers against consenting to ensnaring propositions; and a letter was sent to the Marquis and council, exhorting them to subscribe the covenant. His lordship sent advice of these things to court, and moved his Majesty either to yield to the people or hasten his arms. The King replied, that he would rather die than yield to their *impertinent and*

damnable demands ; but admitted of the Marquis's flattering them to gain time, provided he did not consent to the calling a general assembly or parliament, unless they gave up the covenant. When this was known, both ministers and people declared with one voice, that they would as soon renounce their baptism, as their covenant, but withal avowed their duty and allegiance to the King, and their resolutions to stand by his Majesty, in defence of the true religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. The Marquis not being able to make any impression on the covenanters, returned to England with an account of the melancholy state of affairs in that kingdom, which surprised the English court, and reflected some disgrace upon the Archbishop, for as his grace was going to council, Archibald the King's jester said to him, *What's fœule now ?* Does not your grace hear the news from *Striveling* about the liturgy ? His grace complaining of this usage to the council, Archibald was ordered to be discharged the King's service.

After some time Hamilton was sent back with instructions to revoke the liturgy, the canons, the high commission, and the five articles of Perth ; and with authority to subscribe the confession of faith of 1580, with the band thereunto annexed, and to take orders that all his Majesty's subjects subscribed the same. He might also promise the calling a general assembly and parliament within a competent time, but was to endeavour to exclude the laity from the assembly. The design of subscribing the band of the old covenant was to secure the continuance of episcopacy, because that band obliges them to maintain the religion at that time professed, which the King would interpret of prelatical government, as being not then legally discharged by parliament, and because it contained no promise of mutual defence and assistance against all persons whatsoever, which might include the King himself. However the covenanters did not think fit to subscribe over again, and therefore only thanked the King for discharging the liturgy, the canons, and high commission.

At length the Marquis published a proclamation for a general assembly to meet at Glasgow. The choice of

members went every where in favour of the covenanters. Mr. Hender on one of the silenced ministers was chosen moderator, and Mr. Johnston clerk register; but the Bishops presented a declarator, "Declaring the assembly to be unlawful, and the members of it not qualified to represent the clergy of the nation."

Their declarator being read, was unanimously rejected, and a committee appointed to draw up an answer. In the mean time the assembly was busy in examining elections, in which the covenanters carried every thing before them; the Marquis therefore despairing of any good issue, determined according to his instructions, to dissolve them; and accordingly went to the great church where they sat, and read over his Majesty's concessions; as, 1. That his Majesty was willing to discharge the service book, and the book of canons. 2. To dissolve the high commission. 3. That the articles of Perth should not be urged. 4. That no oath should be required of any minister at his entrance into the ministry, but what is required by act of parliament. 5. That for the future there should be general assemblies as often as the affairs of the kirk shall require; and that the Bishops should be censurable by the assembly, according to their merits. 6. That the confession of faith of 1580, should be subscribed by all his Majesty's subjects of Scotland. These, although very considerable abatements, did not reach the requirements of the covenanters, which were the dissolution of the order of the Bishops, and of the above-mentioned grievances by a statute-law. The Marquis went on and in a long speech declaimed against Lay-Elders, and advised them to break up and choose another assembly of clergymen only; but his motion striking at the very being and lawfulness of their present constitution, was unanimously rejected. Whereupon the Marquis dissolved them, after they had sat only seven days; forbidding them to continue their sessions upon pain of high treason.

But the assembly instead of submitting to the royal command continued sitting, and the very next day published a protestation to justify their proceedings. Laud was vexed at these bold proceedings of the assembly, and

thought of nothing but dispersing them by arms. I am as sorry, he says, to the Marquis of Hamilton, as your grace can be, that the King's preparations can make no more haste. I hope you think I have called upon his Majesty, and by his command upon some others, to hasten all that may be, and more than this I cannot do; I have done, and do daily call upon his Majesty for his preparations; he protests he makes all the haste he can, and I believe him; but the jealousies of giving the covenanters umbrage too soon have made preparations here so late.

The assembly according to their resolution, continued sitting several weeks, till they had passed the following acts:—an act for disannulling six late assemblies therein mentioned, with the reasons;—an act for abjuring and abolishing episcopacy;—an act for condemning the five articles of Perth;—an act for condemning the service book, book of canons, book of ordination, and the high commission;—an act condemning archdeacons, chapters, and preaching deacons; an act for restoring presbyteries, provincial and national assemblies, to their constitution of ministers and elders, and to their power and jurisdiction contained in the book of policy; with many others of the like nature. They then pronounced sentence of deposition against the Bishops; eight of whom were excommunicated: four excluded from the ministerial function, and two only allowed to officiate as pastors or presbyters. Upon this Dr. Spotswood, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Lord high chancellor of Scotland, retired to London, where he died the next year. Most of his brethren the Bishops took the same method, only four remained in the country, three of whom renounced their episcopal orders, but the fourth kept his ground and weathered the storm. At the close of the session the assembly drew up a letter to the King, complaining of his Majesty's commissioner, who had proclaimed them traitors, and forbid the people to pay any regard to their acts; and praying the King to look upon them still as his good and faithful subjects. They also published another declaration to the good people of England, in vindication of their proceedings, which his Majesty took care to suppress, and issued out a proclamation against the sedi-

tious behaviour of the covenanters, which he commanded to be read in all the churches in England.

It was easy to foresee that these warm proceedings must issue in a war, especially when it is remembered that his Majesty consulted with none but the declared enemies of their kirk. On the twenty-sixth of January the King published his resolution to go in person against the Scots covenanters at the head of an army; for this purpose the nobility were summoned to attend his Majesty, and all the wheels of the prerogative were put in motion to raise men and money. Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in his letter to his clergy, calls it a war for the support of episcopacy, that they should therefore stir up their clergy to a liberal contribution after the rate of three shillings and ten-pence in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings in the King's books. The Archbishop also wrote to his commissary Sir J. Lamb, for a contribution in the civil courts of Doctors'-Commons, requiring him to send the names of such as refused to himself at Lambeth. The Queen and her friends undertook for the Roman catholics; the courtiers and the country gentlemen were applied to, to lend money upon this occasion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter forty only contributed together about fourteen hundred pounds. With these and some other assistances, the King fitted out a fleet of sixteen men of war, and raised a splendid army of twenty-one thousand horse and foot.

The Scots being informed of the preparations that were making against them in England, secured the important castles of Edinburgh, Dumbritton, and Frith; and raised an army of such volunteers as had the cause of the kirk at heart, and were determined to sacrifice their lives in defence of it; they sent for their old general Lesley from Germany, who upon this occasion quitted the Emperor's service, and brought over with him several experienced officers. But their greatest distress was the want of fire arms, ammunition, and money, there not being above three thousand arms to be found in the whole kingdom; and having no money, their soldiers made such a ragged appearance, that when the King saw them he

said, they would certainly fight the English if it were only to get their fine clothes. But the success of this war will fall within the compass of the next year.

The star-chamber and high commission went on with their oppressions, as if they were under no apprehensions from the storm that was gathering in the north. Many ministers were suspended and shut up in prison. Mr. Brewer, a baptist preacher, lay in prison fourteen years; Mr. Foxley, of St. Martin's in the fields, was confined in a chamber in the Gate-house for twenty months, without pen, ink or paper, or the access of any friends, even in his extreme sickness; and all this without knowing his crime or so much as guessing at it. Great numbers of puritans continued to flock into New-England, notwithstanding the prohibition of the council last year, insomuch that the Massachusetts-Bay began to be too straight for them; in the latter end of 1636, about one hundred families travelled further into the country, and settled on the banks of the river Connecticut, with the Rev. Mr. Hooker at their head; another detachment went from Dorchester; a third from Water-Town; and a fourth from Roxbury: and built the towns of Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield and Springfield in that colony. Next year the passengers from England were so numerous that they projected a new settlement on the south-west part of Connecticut river, in a large bay near the confines of New-York: the leaders of this colony were T. Eaton, Esq. and Mr. Davenport, who came from England with a large retinue of acquaintance and followers; they spread along the coast, and first built the town of New-Haven, which gives name to the colony; and after some time the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Brentford, &c. Notwithstanding these detachments, the Massachusetts-bay had such frequent recruits from England, that they were continually building new towns or enlarging their settlements in the neighbourhood.

Among the divines who went over this summer, was Mr. E. Rogers, some time chaplain in the family of Sir F. Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, and afterwards vicar of Rowley, in Yorkshire, where he continued a successful preacher to a numerous congregation, almost

twenty years; the Archbishop of that diocese, being a moderate divine, permitted the use of those lectures or prophesyings which Queen Elizabeth had put down; the ministers within certain districts had their monthly exercises, in which one or two preached and others prayed before a numerous and attentive audience. One of the hearers that bore an ill-will to the exercises, told the Archbishop that the ministers prayed against him; but his grace instead of giving credit to the informer, answered with a smile, that he could hardly believe him, because those good men know, says he, that if I were gone to heaven their exercises would soon be put down; which came to pass accordingly, for no sooner was his successor in his chair but he put a period to them, and urged subscription with so much severity, that many of the clergy were suspended and silenced; among whom was Mr. Rogers, who having no further prospect of usefulness in his own country, embarked with several of his Yorkshire friends for New-England, and settled at a place which he called Rowley. Here he spent the remainder of his days, amidst a variety of afflictions till 1660, when he died, in the seventieth year of his age.

Mr. S. Newman, author of the concordance that bears his name, also left the country this year. He was minister of a small living in the county of Oxford, but the severe prosecutions of the spiritual courts, obliged him to no less than seven removals, till at length he resolved to get out of their reach and remove with his friends to New-England. He settled at Rehoboth in the colony of New-Plymouth, where he spent the remainder of his days, and died in the sixty-third year of his age. He was a hard student, a lively preacher, and of an heavenly conversation.

Mr. Chauncey, educated in Cambridge, and greek lecturer of his own college in that University. He was afterwards settled at Ware, and was an admired and useful preacher, till he was driven from thence as has been related. When the book of sports was published, and the drums beat about the town to summon the people to their dances and revels on the Lord's day evening, he preached against it, for which he was suspended, and soon after totally silenced. Few suffered more for non-

conformity by fines, by imprisonment, and by necessities than Mr. Chauncey; at length he determined to remove to New-England, and became president of Harvard College, in Cambridge. Here he continued a most learned, laborious, and useful governor, till he died, in the eighty-second year of his age; he left behind him six sons, the eldest of which was Dr. I. Chauncey, well known among the non-conformist ministers of London.

I pass over the lives of many other divines and substantial gentlemen, who left their country for the peace of their consciences; but it deserves particular notice that there were eight sail of ships at once this spring in the river Thames, bound for New-England, and filled with puritan families, among whom it is said were OLIVER CROMWELL, afterwards protector of the commonwealth of England, and JOHN HAMPDEN, Esq. but the council being informed of their design, issued out an order against their departure. And to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships, to set forth any ships for New-England with passengers, without special licence from the privy-council. When the puritans might not transport themselves to New-England, they removed with their families into the low countries, where they were received with great humanity and kindness. The severe pressing of the ceremonies made the people in many trading towns tremble at a visitation; but when they found their striving in vain; it was no hard matter for their ministers to persuade them to transport themselves into foreign parts; "The sun," said they, "Shines as comfortably in other places, and the sun of righteousness much brighter; it is better to go and dwell in Goshen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such Egyptian bondage as is among us; the sinful corruptions of the church are now grown so general, that there is no place free from the contagion; therefore go out of her my people, and be not partakers of her sins." And hereunto they were encouraged by the Dutch, who chose rather to carry their manufactures home, than be obliged to resort to their parish churches, as by the Archbishop's injunctions they were obliged.

The eyes of all England were now towards the north,

whither the King went, to put himself at the head of his army raised against the Scots; the Earls of Arundel, Essex and Holland, commanding under his Majesty. The Scots under the command of General Lesley, received them upon the borders; but when the two armies had faced each other for some time, the King perceiving that his protestant nobility and soldiers were not hearty in his cause, gave way to a treaty at the petition of the Scots, which ended in a pacification, by which all points of difference were referred to a general assembly to be held at Edinburgh, Aug. 12, and to a parliament which was to meet about a fortnight after. In the mean time both armies were to be disbanded, the TABLES to be broke up, and no meetings held except such as are warranted by act of parliament. Accordingly the King dismissed his army, but with very disobliging circumstances, not giving the nobility and gentry so much as thanks for their affection, loyalty, and personal attendance, which they resented so highly, that few or none of them appeared upon the next summons; the Scots delivered back the King's forts and castles into his Majesty's hands, and disbanded the soldiers, wisely keeping their officers in pay till they saw the effect of the pacification.

The general assembly met at Edinburgh according to the treaty, but being of the same constitution with the last, the Bishops presented another declinator to his Majesty's commissioner, and were excused giving their attendance by express letter from the King, his Majesty in his instructions to his commissioner having yielded them the point of lay-elders. The assembly therefore without any opposition confirmed the proceedings of that at Glasgow, which was of very dubious authority. They appointed the covenant to be taken throughout the kingdom, and explained the bond of mutual defence to a consistency with their late conduct. They voted away the new service book, the book of canons, the five articles of Perth, the high commission, and with one consent determined, that diocesan episcopacy was unlawful and not to be allowed in their kirk. Which the commissioner did not apprehend inconsistent with his private instruc-

tions from the King. It is evident that his Majesty's usage of the Scots was neither frank nor sincere; he had no design to abolish episcopacy, only consented to suspend it, because he was told that the Bishops being one of the three estates of parliament, no law made in their absence could be of force, much less an act for abolishing their whole order, after they had entered their protest in form.

The Scots parliament met Aug. 31, and having first subscribed the solemn league and covenant with the King's consent, they confirmed all the acts of the general assembly, concluding with the utter extirpation of episcopacy as unlawful. But the King having by letter to his commissioner forbid him to consent to the word unlawful, lest it should be interpreted absolutely, though it seems to have a reference only to the kirk of Scotland, his lordship prorogued the parliament, first for fourteen days, and then by the King's express command for nine months, without ratifying any of their acts. The Earl of Dumferline, and Lord Loudon, were dispatched to London, to beseech his Majesty to consent to his ratification; but they were sent back with a reprimand for their misbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the King's presence. It seems too apparent, that his Majesty meant little or nothing by his concessions but to gain time. The King did not really intend the alteration of any of the civil or ecclesiastical laws of that kingdom, and by his Majesty's not ratifying any of their acts, it was evident, that the English court had resumed their courage, and were determined once more to try the fortune of war.

In the mean time, to balance the declaration of the Scots assembly, Bishop Hall, at the request of Laud, composed a treatise on the DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY. The Bishop's book was altered in many places, contrary to his own inclinations, by the Archbishop, and particularly where he had called the Pope antichrist, or spoke too favourably of the morality of the sabbath; and said, that presbytery was of use, where episcopacy could not be obtained. Upon the whole, his lordship's book was so modelled by his metropolitan, that in the debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the lengths of his own performance.

The Bishops still kept a strict hand over the puritans; not a sermon was to be heard on the distinguishing points of Calvinism all over England. In some dioceses great complaints were made of puritan justices of peace, for being too strict in putting the laws in execution against profaneness. At Ashford, in Kent, the Archbishop said he must have recourse to the statute of abjuration, and call in the assistance of the temporal courts to reduce the separatists, the censures of the church not being sufficient.

The resolution of the English court to renew the war with Scotland, was owing to the Lord deputy Wentworth, whom Laud had sent for from Ireland for this purpose. This nobleman from being an eminent patriot, was become a petty tyrant, and had governed Ireland in a most arbitrary and sovereign manner for about seven years, discountenancing the protestants, because they were calvinists, and inclined to puritanism, and giving all imaginable encouragement to the Roman catholics, as friends to the prerogative, whereby he suffered the balance of power in that kingdom to fall into the hands of the papists. Wentworth being come to court, was immediately created Earl of Strafford, and Knight of the Garter, and in concert with Laud, advised the King to set aside the pacification, and to push the Scots war with vigor, offering his Majesty eight thousand Irish, and a large sum of money for his assistance; but this not being sufficient, the war was thought so reasonable and necessary to the King's honour, that it might be ventured with an English parliament, which being laid before the council, was cheerfully agreed to, and after twelve years interval, a parliament was summoned to meet.

The Scots foreseeing the impending storm, consulted where to fly for succour; some were for throwing themselves into the hands of the French, and accordingly wrote a very submissive letter to that monarch, signed by the hands of seven Scots Peers, but never sent it; for upon application to their friends at London, they were assured "That the hearts of the people of England were with them; that they were convinced, the liberties of both nations were at stake, and therefore they might depend upon

their assistance as soon as a fair opportunity offered. Upon this encouragement the Scots laid aside their design of applying to France, and resolved to raise another army from among themselves, and march into England.

The parliament that met at Westminster, was made up of sober and dispassionate men, exceedingly disposed to do the King service, and yet his Majesty would not condescend to speak to them from the throne, ordering the Lord keeper Finch, to acquaint them with the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, who he was determined to reduce, and therefore **would** not admit of the mediation of the two houses, but **expected** their immediate assistance, after which he would give them time to consider of any just grievances to be redressed. But the commons instead of beginning with the supply, appointed committees for religion and grievances, which disoblighed the King so much, that after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to begin with the subsidy bill, he dissolved them in anger, without passing a single act, after they had sat about three weeks, and committed the leading members of the house to the Fleet and other prisons.

His Majesty having failed of a parliamentary supply at the time he demanded it, was told by Lord Strafford and others of the council, that he was now absolved from all rules of government, and might take what his necessities required, and his power could obtain. This indeed was no more than his Majesty had been doing for twelve years before; but some people drew an unhappy conclusion from this maxim (*viz.*) that if the King was absolved from all rules of government, the people were absolved from all rules of obedience. However, all the engines of arbitrary power were set at work to raise money for the war, some of which, says Clarendon, were ridiculous, and others scandalous, but all very grievous to the subject. Those who refused payment, were fined and imprisoned by the Star-chamber or council table. The courtiers advanced three hundred thousand pounds in three weeks, the clergy in convocation gave six subsidies, the papists were very generous; Strafford went over to Ireland and obtained four subsidies of the parliament of that kingdom; soldiers were pressed into the service in all counties, few

listing themselves voluntarily except papists, many of whom had commissions in the army, which gave rise to a common saying among the people, that "The Queen's army of papists were going to establish the protestant religion in Scotland."

The people groaned under these oppressions, the odium whereof fell upon Laud and Strafford, who were libelled and threatened with the fury of the populace. A paper was fixed upon the old Exchange, animating the apprentices to pull the Archbishop out of his palace; upon this the trained bands were ordered into St. George's fields, nevertheless the mob rose and broke his windows, for which one of them being apprehended, suffered death as a traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a breach of the peace. From Lambeth the mob went to the house of the Pope's agent, where they were dispersed by the King's guards, and some of them sent to prison; but the next week they rose again and rescued their friends. The country was in the same mutinous posture, there being frequent skirmishes between them and the new raised soldiers, even to bloodshed. The city train bands were in arms all the summer, but the campaign proving unsuccessful, there was no keeping the people within bounds afterwards; for which the high commission was sitting at St. Paul's, near two thousand Brownists, as the Archbishop calls them, raised a disturbance and broke up the court, crying out *No Bishops, no high commission.*

The convocation that sat with this parliament was opened with more splendor and magnificence than the situation of affairs required. The sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, canon residentiary of St. Paul's. After which they adjourned to the Chapel-house, where the King's writ of summons being read, the Archbishop recommended to the lower house the choosing a prolocutor, to be presented to himself or his commissary, on Friday following, to which time and place the convocation was adjourned. Dr. Steward, Dean of Chichester, was presented to the Archbishop as prolocutor, whom his grace approved, and then produced his Majesty's commission under the great seal, authorizing them to make and

ordain certain canons and constitutions, for the establishing true religion, and the profit of the state of the church of England. The commission was to remain in force during the present session of parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable clause, nothing was to be concluded without the Archbishop's being a party in the consultation. It was intended also to draw up an English pontifical, which was to contain the form and manner of royal coronations. A form for consecrating churches, churchyards, and chapels.—A form for reconciling penitents and apostates.—A book of articles to be used by all Bishops at their visitation.—And a short form of prayer for before sermon, comprehending the substance of the fifty-fifth canon. But most of these projects were interrupted by the sudden dissolution of the parliament.

The convocation, according to ancient custom, should have broke up at the same time, but one of the lower house having acquainted the Archbishop with a precedent in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, of the clergy's granting a subsidy or benevolence, of two shillings in the pound, to be raised upon all the clergy, after the parliament was risen, and levying it by their own synodical act only, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, it was concluded from thence that the convocation might sit independent of the parliament, and therefore instead of dissolving, they only adjourned for a few days, to take further advice. The zealous Archbishop relying upon this single precedent applied to the King for a commission, to continue the convocation during his Majesty's pleasure, in order to finish the canons and constitutions, and to grant the subsidies already voted. The case being referred to the judges, the majority gave it as their opinion, "That the convocation being called by the King's writ under the great seal, doth continue till it be dissolved by writ or commission under the great seal, notwithstanding the parliament be dissolved."

Upon this a commission under the great seal was granted, and the convocation re-assembled and continued; and a committee of twenty six was appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the house; but the mob being so inflamed, as to threaten to pull down the convo-

cation-house, the King appointed them a guard commanded by Porter, groom of the bed-chamber, a papist, under whose protection the synod was continued till the canons were perfected, and six subsidies granted by way of supply for the exigence of his Majesty's affairs; to be collected in six years, after the rate of four shillings in the pound, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; after which it was dissolved by a special mandate or writ from his Majesty, after it had continued twenty-five sessions. The canons having been approved by the privy-council, were subscribed by as many of both houses of convocation as were present, and then transmitted to the provincial synod of York, by whom they were subscribed at once, without so much as debating either matter or form. Bishop Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was in the Tower, and had no concern with the canons. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, a concealed papist, was the only prelate who declined the subscription; till the Archbishop threatening him with deprivation, and the rest of his brethren passing him to comply, he was persuaded to put his name to the book; but several of the members of the lower house avoided the test, by withdrawing before the day of subscription; for of above one hundred and sixty, of which both houses of convocation consisted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the book.

The unreasonableness of continuing the synod after the dissolution of the parliament appears from hence, that the convocation, consisting of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and clerks, the three former act in their personal capacities only, and many give for themselves what subsidies they please; but the clerks being chosen for their respective cathedrals and dioceses, legally to sit as long as the parliament continues, desist from being public persons as soon as it is dissolved, and lose the character of representatives; they are then no more than private clergymen, who though they may give the King what sums of money they please for themselves, cannot vote away the estates of their brethren, unless they are re-elected. Besides it was contrary to all law and custom, both before and since the act of submission of the clergy

to Henry Eighth, except in the single instance of Queen Elizabeth. The canons of this synod, consisting of seventeen articles, were published and entitled, "Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the convocation for their respective provinces, and the rest of the Bishops and clergy of those provinces, and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's licence, in their several synods.

When the canons were made public, they were generally disliked; several pamphlets were printed against them, and dispersed among people. All who loved the old English constitution were dissatisfied with the first canon, because it declares for the absolute power of Kings, and for the unlawfulness of defensive arms on any pretence whatsoever; and the whole body of the clergy were nearly concerned in the sixth, being obliged by the second of November to take the oath therein mentioned, on pain of suspension and deprivation. This oath is as follows:

I, A. B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine, discipline or government, established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary for salvation; and that I will not endeavour myself or any other, directly, or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church, by Archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ."

The London clergy drew up a petition against it to the privy-council; and to give it the more weight procured a great many hands. The ministers, school-masters, and physicians in most counties took the same method;

some objecting to the oath as contrary to the oath of supremacy; some complaining of the *Et Cetera*, which was inserted in the middle. Others objected to the power of the synod to impose an oath, and many confessed, that they wished some things in the discipline of the church might be altered, therefore could not swear never to attempt it in a proper way. Some of the Bishops endeavoured to satisfy their clergy by giving the most favourable interpretation to the oath, but most of the Bishops pressed the oath absolutely on their clergy; and to my certain knowledge: says Fuller, obliged them to take it kneeling, a ceremony never required in taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy; but to such extravagance of power did these prelates aspire upon the wing of the prerogative! The Archbishop was advised of these difficulties by Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. However, this resolute prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his Majesty's affairs, would relax nothing, but would have broken the King's interest among the conformable clergy, if the nobility and gentry with the King at York, had not prevailed with his Majesty to lay him under a restraint by letter under the hand of the principal secretary of state.

We have mentioned the secret correspondence between the English and Scots nobility to recover the liberties of both kingdoms, which encouraged the Scots to march a second time to their borders, where the King met them with his army commanded by the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford; but it soon appeared that the English nobility were not for conquering the Scots; nor had the protestant soldiers any zeal in his Majesty's cause, so that after a trifling skirmish the Scots army passed the Twed, took possession of the important town of Newcastle, the royal army retreating before them as far as York, and leaving them masters of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they subsisted their army and raised what contributions they pleased. As soon as the Scots entered Newcastle, they sent an express to the Lord mayor and aldermen of London, to assure them they would not interrupt the trade between that town and the city of London, but would cultivate all manner of friendship and brotherly correspondence. They also sent messengers to the King with

an humble petition, that his Majesty would please to confirm their late acts of parliament, restore their ships and merchandize, recall his proclamation which styles them rebels, and call an English parliament to settle the peace between both kingdoms. This was followed by another signed by twelve peers with his Majesty at York, and by a third from the city of London. The King finding it impossible to carry on the war, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots at Ripon, who agreed to a cessation of arms for two months, the Scots to have eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for maintenance of their army; and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free parliament was immediately to be convened. The calling an English parliament was the grand affair that had been concerted with the Scots before their coming into England; and it was high time; because to all appearance this was the last crisis for saving the constitution; if the Irish and English armies were raised to reduce Scotland, under the arbitrary power of the prerogative, what could be expected, but that afterwards they should march back into England, and establish the same despotic power here, with a standing army, beyond all recovery.

Sad and melancholy was the condition of the prime ministers, when they saw themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting their conduct to the examination of parliament, supported by an army from Scotland, and the general discontents of the people! Several of the courtiers began to shift for themselves: some withdrew from the storm, and others having been concerned in various illegal projects deserted their masters, and made their peace, by discovering the King's counsels to the leading members of parliament, which disabled the *junto* from making any considerable efforts of their safety. All men had a veneration for the person of the King, though his Majesty had lost ground in their affections by his ill usage of parliaments, and by taking the faults of his ministers upon himself. But the Queen was in no manner of esteem with any who had the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country at heart. The Bishops had sunk their character by their behaviour in the spiritual court, so that they had nothing to expect, but that their wings should be clipped. And the judges were

disposed and hated, for betraying the laws of their country, and giving a sanction to the illegal proceedings of the council and Star-chamber. As his Majesty had few friends of credit or interest among the people at home, so he had nothing to expect from abroad; France and Spain were pleased with his distress; the foreign protestants wished well to the oppressed people of England; they published their resentments against the Bishops, for their hard usage of the Dutch and French congregations, and gave it as their opinion, that a protestant King who countenanced papists, and at the same time drove his protestant subjects out of the kingdom, was not worthy the assistance of the reformed churches, especially after he had renounced communion with them, and declared openly, that the religion of the Church of England was not the same with that of the foreign protestants.

Three considerable divines of a very different character died about this time: Mr. J. Ball, educated at Brazen-Nose College, Oxon, and afterwards minister of Whitmore, in Staffordshire, where he lived upon twenty pounds a year and the profit of a little school. He was a learned and pious man, deserving as high esteem, says Baxter, as the best Bishop in England. Being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, it was some time before he could meet with an opportunity to be ordained without subscription, but at last he obtained it from the hands of an Irish Bishop, then occasionally in London; though he lived and died a non-conformist: he was an enemy to a separation. His last work, entitled "A stay against Straying." His other works were very numerous, and of great reputation in those times. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Dr. L. Chadderton, born in Lancashire, of popish parents,* who when they heard their son had changed his religion, disinherited him; he was first fellow of Christ College, and afterwards master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. King James nominated him one of the four representatives of the puritans in the Hampton-Court conference: and afterwards one of the translators of the Bible. He governed his college with great reputation many years, being remarkable for gravity, learning and piety; he had a plain but effectual way of preaching, having a strict regard

for the sabbath, and a great aversion to arminianism. Being advanced in years, and afraid of being succeeded by an arminian divine, he resigned his mastership to Dr. Preston, whom he survived. He died in the hundred and third year of his age.

Dr. R. Neile, Archbishop of York, was born in Westminster of mean parents; he was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and passed through all the degrees and orders of preferment in the Church of England. Mr. Prynne says, he was a popish arminian prelate, and a persecutor of all orthodox and godly ministers. It is certain he had few or none of the qualifications of a primitive Bishop; he hardly preached a sermon in twelve years, and gained his preferments by flattery and servile court compliances. He was a zealous advocate for pompous innovations in the church, and oppressive projects in the state, for which he would have felt the resentments of the house of commons, had he lived a little longer; but he died very seasonably for himself, three days before the meeting of the long parliament.

CHAP. V.



CHARLES I.

The long Parliament.—Character of it.—Speeches and Resolutions against the Canons.—Proceedings of the Convocation.—Laud impeached of High Treason.—Committed to the Tower.—The persecuted released from Prison.—Their persecutors called to account.—Mutinous behaviour of the People.—Clamour against the High Clergy.—The Independents.—Votes of the Parliament.

WE are now entering upon the proceedings of the long Parliament, which continued sitting with some little intermission for above eighteen years, and occasioned such prodigious revolutions in church and state, as were the wonder of all Europe. The house of commons have been severely censured for the ill success of their endeavours to recover and secure the constitution of their country; but the attempt was glorious, though a train of unforeseen accidents rendered it fatal in the event. The members consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, who had no attachment to the court. Eachard insinuates, some unfair methods of election, which might be true on both sides; but both he and Clarendon admit, that there were many great and worthy PATRIOTS in the house, and as eminent as any age had ever produced; men of gravity, of wisdom, and of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been satisfied with some few amendments in church and state.

Before the opening of the session, the principal members consulted measures for securing the frequency of parliament; for redressing of grievances in church and state; and for bringing the King's arbitrary ministers to justice; to accomplish which it was thought necessary to set some bounds to the prerogative, and to lessen the power of the Bishops, but it never entered into their thoughts to overturn the civil or ecclesiastical constitution. They were all member of the established church, and almost to a man for episcopal government; and though not devoted to the court, they had all duty for the King, and affection for the government. It was not their purpose to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, to leave private persons or particular congregations, to take up what form of divine service they pleased; and Lord Clarendon adds, "that even after the battle of Edgehill the design against the church was not grown popular in the house; that in 1642, and 1643, the lords and commons were all in perfect conformity to the Church of England, and so was their army, their general and officers both by sea and land. Such a testimony may surely serve to silence those who through ignorance and ill-will have represented the long parliament, and the body of the puritans at their first sitting down, as in a plot against the whole ecclesiastical establishment.

The parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, wherein his Majesty declares, he would concur with them in satisfying their just grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only some offence was taken at his styling the Scots, *Rebels*, at a time when there was a pacification subsisting; upon which his Majesty came to the house, and instead of softening his language, very imprudently avowed the expression, saying, *he could call them neither better nor worse*. The houses petitioned his Majesty to appoint a fast for a blessing upon their counsels, which was observed November 17; and the Lord's day following, all the members in a body received the sacrament from the hands of Bishop Williams, Dean of Westminster, not at the rails about the altar, but at a communion table, placed by order of the house, in the middle of the church on that occasion.

At their first entrance upon business they appointed four grand committees; the first to receive petitions about grievances of religion, which was afterwards subdivided into twenty or thirty; the second for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; the third for civil grievances, as ship-money, judges, courts of justice, monopolies, &c. the fourth concerning popery, and plots relating thereunto. Among the grievances of religion, one of the first things that came before the house was, the acts and canons of the late convocation; several warm speeches were made against the compilers of them; and among others, Lord Digby, who was as yet with the country party, said, "Does not every parliament man's heart rise, to see the prelates usurping to themselves, the grand pre-eminence of parliaments? the granting subsidies under the name of a benevolence, under no less a penalty to them that refuse it, than the loss of heaven and earth; of heaven by excommunication, and of earth by deprivation, and this without redemption by appeal? What good man can think with patience, of such an ensnaring oath, as that which the new canons enjoin to be taken, by ministers, lawyers, physicians, and graduates in the university, where besides the swearing such an impertinence, as that things necessary to salvation are contained in discipline; besides the swearing those to be of divine right, which among the learned was never pretended to, as the Arch things in our hierarchy; besides the swearing not to consent to the change of ~~that~~, which the state may upon great reasons, think fit to alter; besides the bottomless perjury of an *Et Cætera*; besides all this, men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily, what they are compelled to; and lastly, that they swear to the oath in the literal sense, whereof no two of the makers themselves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the understanding."

Others spoke with the same warmth and satirical wit, for discharging the canons, *dismounting* them, and *melting them down*; nor did any gentleman stand up in their behalf but Mr. Holbourn, who is said to make a speech of two hours in their vindication; but his arguments made no impression on the house, for at the close of the

debate, a committee of twelve gentlemen was appointed to search for the warrants by which the convocation was held, after the parliament broke up, and for the letters patent of the benevolence, and for such other materials as might assist the house in their next debate upon this argument, which was appointed for December 14, when some of the members would have aggravated the crime of the convocation to high treason, but Sergeant Maynard and Mr. Bagshaw moderated their resentments, by convincing them that they were only in a *præmunire*. At the close of the debate the house came to the following resolutions: That the clergy convened in any convocation or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matters of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without consent of parliament. That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops, presidents of the convocations for their respective provinces, and the rest of the Bishops and clergy of those provinces, and agreed upon with the King's licence, in their several synods, 1610, do not bind the clergy or laity. That the several constitutions and canons abovementioned, do contain in them many matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject. That the several grants of benevolences or contributions, granted to his most excellent Majesty by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

If the first of these resolutions be agreeable to law, I apprehended there were then no canons subsisting, for those of 1603, were not brought into parliament, but being made in a parliamentary convocation, were ratified by the King under the great seal, and so became binding on the clergy, according to the statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry Eighth. In the Saxon times all ecclesiastical laws and constitutions were confirmed by the peers, and by the representatives of the people; but those great councils to which our parliaments succeed, being made up of laics and ecclesiastics, were afterwards separated, and

then the clergy did their business by themselves, and enacted laws without confirmation of King or parliament, during the reign of popery, till the act of the submission of the clergy to Henry the Eighth, so that the claim of making canons without the sanction of parliament, seemed to stand upon no other foundation than the usurped power of the Pope; nor did the parliament of those times yield up their right, for in the fifty-first of Edward the Third, the commons passed a bill, that no act or ordinance should be made for the future upon the petition of the clergy, without consent of the commons; and that the commons should not be bound for the future by any constitutions of the clergy, to which they had not given their consent in parliament. But the bill being dropt, things went on as formerly, till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when the Pope's usurped power being abolished, both parliament and clergy agreed by the act of submission, that no canons should be binding without the royal assent; and that the clergy in convocation should not so much as consult about any, without the King's special licence; but Serjeant Maynard delivered it as his opinion in the house, that it did not follow, that because the clergy might not make canons without the King's licence, that therefore they might make them, and bind them on the clergy by his licence alone; for this were to take away the ancient rights of parliament before the Pope's usurpation, which they never yielded up, nor does the act of submission of the clergy take away. Upon this reasoning the commons voted their first resolution, the strength of which I leave to the reader's consideration. The arguments upon which the other resolutions are founded will be related together presently.

When the convocation was opened, the Archbishop made a pathetic speech, lamenting the danger of the church, and exhorting every one present to perform the duty of their places with resolution; but nothing of moment was transacted, there being no commission from the King; only Mr. Warminster, one of the clerks for the diocese of Worcester, being convinced of the invalidity of the late canons, moved the house that they might cover the pit which they had opened, and prevent a parliamentary

inquisition by petitioning the King for leave to review them; but his motion was rejected. However though the convocation was so sanguine at their first coming together, as to despise Mr. Warminster's motion, yet when they saw the vigorous resolutions of the house of commons against the canons, and the articles of impeachment against the metropolitan for high treason, one of which was for compiling the late canons, they were dispirited, and in a few weeks deserted their station in the convocation-house; the Bishops also discontinued their meetings, and in a few weeks both houses dwindled to nothing, and broke up without either adjournment or prorogation.

In parliament, it was agreed against the late convocation, that they were no legal assembly after the dissolution of the parliament; that his Majesty had no more power to continue them than to recal his parliament; nor could he by his letters patents convert them into a national or provincial synod, because the right of their election ceasing at the expiration of the convocation, they ought to have been re-chosen before they could act in the name of the clergy whom they represented, or bind them by their decrees. It is contrary to all law and reason in the world, that a number of men met together in a convocation, upon a summons limited to a certain time, should after the expiration of that time, by a new commission, be changed into a national or provincial synod, without the voice or election of any one person concerned. The commons were therefore at a loss by what name to call this extraordinary assembly, being in their opinion neither convocation nor synod, because no representative body of the clergy. The words convocation and synod are convertible terms, signifying the same thing, and it is essential to both that they be chosen by (if they are to make constitutions and canons to bind) the clergy. Some indeed have thought of a small distinction, as that a convocation must begin and end with the parliament, whereas a synod may be called by the King out of parliament, but then such an assembly cannot give subsidies for their brethren, nor make laws by which they will be bound.

The objections to the particular canons were these:—

1. Against the first canon it was argued, that the compilers

of it had invaded the rights and prerogative of parliament, by pretending to settle and declare the extent of the King's power, and the subjects obedience. By declaring the order of Kings to be of divine right, founded in the laws of nature and revelation, by which they condemned all other governments. By affirming that the King had an absolute power over his subjects, and a right to the subsidies and aids of his people without consent of parliament. By affirming that subjects may not bear arms against their King, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, upon pain of damnation. By taking upon themselves to define some things to be treason not included in the statute of treasons. And lastly, by inflicting a penalty on such as shall dare to disobey them, in not reading and publishing the above mentioned particulars. They also stated objections against the second and fourth canons; but the sixth was peculiarly obnoxious. They objected against this canon, that it imposed a new oath upon the subject, which is a power equal if not superior to the making a new law. It was argued likewise against the oath itself, that in some parts it was very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly false and illegal. We are to swear in the oath, that we approve the doctrine, discipline, or government established in the Church of England, and yet we are not told wherein they are contained; whether by the doctrine of the church we are to understand only the thirty-nine articles, or likewise the homilies and church catechism; and by the discipline, only the book of canons, or likewise all other ecclesiastical orders not repealed by statute; for it is observable that the words of the oath are, as it is established, and not, as it is established by law. And the ambiguity is further increased by that remarkable *et cætera*, inserted in the body of the oath; for whereas oaths ought to be explicit, and the sense of the words as clear and determined as possible, we are here to swear to we know not what, to something that is not expressed: by which means we are left to the arbitrary interpretation of the judge, and may be involved in the guilt of perjury before we are aware. But besides the ambiguity of the oath, it contains some things false and illegal; for it

affirms the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, to be of divine right; for after we have sworn to the hierarchy as established by the law of the land, we are to swear further, that by right it ought so to stand, which words are a mere tautology, or else must infer some further right than that which is included in the legal establishment, which can be no other than a divine right. Now though it should be allowed that the government of the church by Bishops is of divine right, yet certainly archbishops, deans and archdeacons, can have no pretence to that claim.

Besides to swear never to give our consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, &c. is directly contrary to the oath of supremacy, by which if his Majesty should think fit at any time to commission other persons to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction than at present, we are sworn not only to consent but to aid and assist him in it; whereas in this new oath we swear never to consent to any such alterations. Nothing is more evident than that the discipline of the church is alterable; the church itself laments the want of godly discipline; and many of the clergy and laity wish and desire an amendment; it is therefore very unreasonable that all who take degrees in the Universities, many of whom may be members of parliament, shall be sworn beforehand, never to consent to any alteration. And though it is known to all the world, that many of the conforming clergy are dissatisfied with some of the branches of the present establishment, yet they are to swear that they take this oath *heartily and willingly*, though they are compelled to it under the penalties of suspension and deprivation.

Laud in his answer to the impeachment of the house of commons against himself, boldly undertakes to refute all these objections, and to justify the whole of the canons.

Upon the same day that the house passed the above-mentioned resolutions against the canons, several warm speeches were made against Laud, as the chief author of them; and a committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far he had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country; in

order to draw up articles against him. Next day the Earl of Bristol acquainted the house of Lords, that the Scots commissioners had presented some papers against the Archbishop, which were read by Lord Paget, and then reported to the house of commons at a conference between the two houses. Their charge consisted of divers grievances (which had occasioned great disturbances in the kingdom of Scotland) ranged under three heads, of all which they challenged the Archbishop to be the chief author.

The first branch of the charge consisted of divers alterations in religion, imposed upon them without order and against law, contrary to the form established in their kirk. The second was, his obtruding upon them a book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, devised for the establishing a tyrannical power in the persons of the prelates, over the consciences, liberties and goods of the people; and for abolishing this discipline and government of their kirk, which was settled by law, and had obtained amongst them ever since the reformation. The third and great innovation with which they charged the Archbishop was, the book of Common Prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other parts of divine worship, brought in without warrant from their kirk, to be universally received as the only form of divine service, under the highest pains both civil and ecclesiastical; which book contained many popish errors and ceremonies, repugnant to their confession of faith, constitutions of their general assemblies, and to acts of parliament.

When the report of these articles was made to the Commons, the resentments of the house against the Archbishop immediately broke out into a flame; many severe speeches were made against his late conduct; and among others, one by Sir H. Grimstone speaker of that parliament which restored Charles the second, who stood up and said,—“That this great man was the very sty of all that pestilential filth that had infested the government; that he was the only man that had advanced those who together with himself had been the authors of all the miseries the nation now groaned under. That he had managed all the pro-

jects that had been set on foot for these ten years past, and had condescended so low as to deal in tobacco, by which thousands of poor people had been turned out of their trades, for which they served an apprenticeship; that he had been charged in this house, upon very strong proof, with designs to subvert the government, and alter the protestant religion in this kingdom, as well as in Scotland; and there is scarce any grievance or complaint comes before the house, wherein he is not mentioned like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the tail of every thing." He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots commissioners might be supported by an impeachment of their own; and that the question might now be put, whether the Archbishop had been guilty of high treason? Which being voted, Mr. Hollis was sent up to the bar of the house of Lords to impeach him in the name of all the commons of England, and to desire that his person might be sequestered, and that they would bring up the particulars of their charge; upon which his grace being commanded to withdraw, stood up in his place and said, he was heartily sorry for the offence taken against him, but humbly desired their lordships to look upon the whole course of his life, which was such as that he was persuaded not one man in the house of commons did believe in his heart that he was a traitor." To which the Earl of Essex replied, that it was a high reflection upon the whole house of commons, to suppose they would charge him with a crime which they themselves did not believe. After this his grace withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the usher of the black rod, to be kept in safe custody till the house of commons should deliver in their articles of impeachment. Upon the 26th of February Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the commons went up to the house of lords, and at the bar of that house presented their lordships with fourteen articles, in maintenance of their former charge of high treason against the Archbishop, which were read, his grace being present.

In the first, he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the constitution by introducing an arbitrary power of government, without any limitation or rule of law. In the second, with procuring sermons to be preached, and

other pamphlets to be printed, in which the authority of parliament is denied, and the absolute power of the King asserted to be agreeable to the law of God. The third article charges him with interrupting the course of justice, by messages, threatenings, and promises to the judges. The fourth, with selling justice in his own person, under colour of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and with advising his Majesty to sell places of judicature contrary to law. In the fifth, he is charged with the canons and oath imposed upon the subject by the late convocation. In the sixth, with robbing the King of supremacy, by denying the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be derived from the crown. In the seventh, with bringing in popish doctrines and ceremonies contrary to the articles of the church, and cruelly persecuting those who opposed them. In the eighth, he is charged with promoting persons to the highest and best preferments in the church, who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing such for his domestic chaplains as he knew to be popishly affected, and committing to them the licensing of books, whereby such writings have been published as have been scandalous to the protestant religion. The tenth article charges him with sundry attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The eleventh, with discountenancing preaching, and with silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing, sundry godly and orthodox ministers. The twelfth, with dividing the Church of England from the foreign protestant churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late disturbances between England and Scotland. And the last, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legislative power, by alienating the King's mind from his parliament.

At the delivery of these articles, Mr. Pym declared, that the commons reserved to themselves the liberty of presenting some additional articles, by which they intended to make the charge more particular and certain as to time and other circumstances: and prayed their lordships to put the cause as forward as they could.

When the Archbishop had heard the articles read, he made a short reply to each article, which consisted in an absolute denial of the whole. The Lords voted him to the

Tower ; whither he was carried through the city. It was designed he should have passed *incognito*, but an apprentice in Newgate-Street happening to know him, raised the mob, which surrounded the coach, and followed him with huzzas and insults till he got within the Tower gate. Indeed, such was the universal hatred of all ranks and orders of men against this prelate, for his cruel usage of those who had fallen into his hands in the time of his prosperity, that no man's fall was so unlamented as his. Being lodged in the Tower, he thought it his interest to be quiet, without so much as moving to be brought to trial, or putting in his answer to the articles of impeachment, till the commons after two or three years, exhibited their additional articles, and moved the peers to appoint a day for his trial.

Before the Archbishop was confined, he had the mortification to see most of the church and state prisoners released, the Bishop of Lincoln was discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, and his fine remitted. When he resumed his seat in the house of lords, he behaved with more temper than either the King or the Archbishop could expect ; whereupon his Majesty sent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the court, by promising to make him full satisfaction for his sufferings ; in order to which his Majesty commanded all the judgments that were entered against him to be discharged, and within a twelve-month translated him to the see of York, with leave to hold his deanry of Westminster in *commendam* for three years : the Bishop therefore never complained to the house of his sufferings, or petitioned for satisfaction.

Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwick, being remanded from the several islands to which they had been confined, upon their humble petition to the house of commons, were met some miles out of town by great numbers of people on horseback, with rosemary and bays in their hats, and escorted into the city in a sort of triumph, with loud acclamations for their deliverance ; a few weeks after the house came to the following resolutions :—That the several judgments against them were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject :—that their fines be

emitted;—that they be restored to their professions;—and that for reparation of their losses, Mr. Burton ought to have six thousand pounds, and Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick five thousand pounds each out of the estates of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the high commissioners and those lords who had voted against them in the Star-chamber;—but the confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money. Dr. Leighton was released about the same time, and his fine of ten thousand pounds remitted: the reading his petition drew tears from the house. It was to this effect: “That he was apprehended coming from sermon by a high commission warrant, and dragged along the street with bills and staves to London-house. That the gaoler of Newgate being sent for, clapt him in irons, and carried him with a strong power into a loathsome and ruinous dog-hole full of rats and mice, that had no light but a little grate, and the roof being uncovered, the snow and rain beat in upon him, having no bedding or place to make a fire but the ruins of an old smoaky chimney. In this wotul place he was shut up for fifteen weeks, nobody being suffered to come to him, till at length his wife only was admitted.—That the fourth day after his commitment, the pursuivant with a mighty multitude came to his house to search for jesuits’ books, and used his wife in such a barbarous and inhuman manner as he is ashamed to express; that they rifled every person and place, holding a pistol to the breast of a child of five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not discover the books; that they broke open chests, presses, boxes, and carried away every thing, even household stuff, apparel, arms, and other things; that at the end of fifteen weeks he was served with a *subpœna*, on an information laid against him by Sir. R. Heath, attorney-general, whose dealing with him was full of cruelty and deceit; but he was then sick, and in the opinion of four physicians thought to be poisoned, because all his hair and skin came off; that in the height of this sickness the cruel sentence was passed upon him mentioned in the year 1630, and executed November 26 following, when he received thirty-six stripes upon his naked back with a threefold cord, his hands being

tyed up to a stake, and then stood almost two hours in the pillory in the frost and snow, before he was branded in the face, his nose slit, and his ears cut off; that after this he was carried by water to the Fleet, and shut up in such a room that he was never well, and after eight years was turned into the common Gaol——.” The house voted him satisfaction for his sufferings; but it does not appear that he actually received any, except being appointed keeper of Lambeth-house as a prison, for which he must be very unfit, being now in the seventy-second year of his age, and worn out with poverty, weakness, and pain.

Dr. Wren, late Bishop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarkably severe against the puritan clergy in his dioceses, the inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a petition against him, and presented it to the house; upon which the committee of parliament exhibited a charge against him, consisting of twenty-five articles relating to the late innovations. It sets forth, that during the time of his being Bishop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty ministers had been excommunicated, suspended, and deprived, for not reading the second service at the communion-table; for not reading the book of sports; for using conceived prayers before the afternoon sermon, &c. and that by his rigorous severities many of his Majesty's subjects to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and estates, to Holland, and set up their manufactories there, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom. I do not find that the Bishop put in a particular answer to these articles, nor was he taken into custody, but only gave bond for his appearance. Some time after, the commons voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical preferment, and both lords and commons joined in a petition to the King, to remove the said Bishop from his person and service; after which he was imprisoned with the rest of the protesting Bishops; upon his release he retired to his house at Downham in the isle of Ely, from whence he was taken by a party of parliament soldiers and conveyed to the Tower, where he continued a patient prisoner till the end of 1659,

without being brought to his trial or admitted to bail. Complaints being made against several other Bishops and clergymen, who had been instruments of severity in the late times, they were voted unfit for ecclesiastical promotions. The number of petitions that were sent up to the committee of religion from all parts of the country against their clergy is incredible; some complaining of their superstitious impositions, and others of the immorality of their lives, and neglect of their cures; which shews the little esteem they had among the people, who were weary of their yoke, regarding them no longer than they were under the terror of their excommunications.

Such was the spirit of the populace, that it was difficult to prevent their out-running authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told had been illegally set up. At St. Saviour's Southwark, the mob pulled down the rails about the communion-table. At Haltstead in Essex they tore the surplice and abused the service book; nay when the house of commons was assembled at St. Margarets, Westminster, as the priest was beginning the second service at the communion-table, some of the lower end of the church began a psalm, which was followed by the congregation, so that the minister was forced to desist. But the lords and commons passed a very severe sentence on the rioters, and published an order to prevent these seditious practices for the future.

There was such a violent clamour against the high clergy, that they could hardly officiate according to the late injunctions without being affronted, or walk the streets in their habits without being reproached as *popish priests, Caesar's friends*, &c. The reputation of the liturgy began to sink; reading prayers was called a lifeless form of worship, and a quenching the spirit, whose assistances are promised in the matter, as well as the manner of our prayers; besides the nation being in a crisis, it was thought impossible that the old forms should be suitable to the exigence of the times, or to the circumstances of particular person who might desire a share in the devotions of the church. Those

ministers therefore, who prayed with fervency and devotion, in words of their own conception, suitable either to the sermon that was preached, or to the present urgency of affairs, had crouded and attentive auditories, while the ordinary service of the church was deserted as cold, formal, and without spirit.

The discipline of the church being relaxed, the Brownists who had assembled in private from house to house for twenty or thirty years, re-assumed their courage, and shewed themselves in public. We have given an account of their origin from Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Jacob, in 1616, the last of whom was succeeded by Mr. John Lathorp, formerly a clergyman in Kent, but having renounced his orders he became pastor of this little society. In his time the congregation was discovered by Tomlinson the Bishop's pursuivant, at the house of Mr. Humphrey Barnet a brewer's clerk in Black-friars, where forty-two of them were apprehended and only eighteen escaped: of those that were taken, some were confined in the Clink, others in New-Prison and the Gate-House, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp for whom no favour could be obtained; he therefore petitioned the King for liberty to depart the kingdom, which being granted, he went to New-England, with about thirty of his followers. Mr. Lathorp was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit, but met with some uneasiness upon occasion of one of his people carrying his child to be re-baptized by the parish minister; some of the congregation insisting that it should be baptized, because the other administration was not valid; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority not to make any declaration at present, whether or no parish churches were true churches? Upon this some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, desired their dismissal, which was granted them; these set up by themselves, and chose Mr. Jesse their minister, who laid the foundation of the first Baptist congregation in England. But the rest renewed their covenant, "to walk together in the ways of God, so far as he had made them known, or should make them known to them, and to forsake all false ways." And

so steady were they to their vows, that hardly an instance can be produced of one that deserted to the church by the severest prosecution.

Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring to New-England, the congregation chose for their pastor the famous Mr. Canne, author of the marginal references in the Bible, who after he had preached to them in private houses for a year or two, was driven by the severity of the times into Holland, and became pastor of the Brownists congregation at Amsterdam. After Mr. Canne, Mr. S. Howe undertook the pastoral care of this little flock; he was a man of learning, and printed a small treatise, called "The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching." But not being enough upon his guard in conversation, he laid himself open to the informers, by whose means he was cited into the spiritual courts, and excommunicated; hereupon he absconded, till being at last taken he was shut up in close prison where he died.

Upon Mr. Howe's death the little church was forced to take up with a lay-man, Mr. Stephen More, a citizen of London, of good natural parts, and of considerable substance; he had been their deacon for some years, and in the present exigence accepted of the pastoral office, to the apparent hazard of his estate and liberty. However, the face of affairs beginning now to change, this poor congregation which had subsisted almost by a miracle for above twenty-four years, shifting from place to place, ventured to open their doors in Dead-Man's-Place, Southwark. Mr. Fuller calls them a congregation of Anabaptists, who were met together to the number of eighty; but by their journal or church book, it appears to be Mr. More's congregation of independents, who being assembled in Dead-Man's-place on the Lord's day, were disturbed by the marshal of the King's Bench, and most of them committed to the Clink prison. Next morning six or seven of the men were carried before the house of lords, and charged with denying the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with preaching in separate congregations contrary to the statute of the 35th of Eliz. The latter they confessed, and as to the former they declared to the house, that they could acknowledge no other head of the church but Christ; that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to

make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but that they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction. Such a declaration a twelvemonth ago might have cost them their ears; but the house instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical courts, dismissed them with a gentle reprimand, and three or four of the members came out of curiosity to their assembly next Lord's day to hear their minister preach, and see him administer the sacrament, and were so well satisfied, that they contributed to their collection for the poor.

It has been observed, that one of the first resolutions of parliament, was to reduce the power of the spiritual courts. The old popish canons, which were the laws by which they proceeded (as far as they had not been controuled by the common law or by particular statutes) were such a labyrinth, that when the subject was got into the commons he knew not how to defend himself, or which way to get out. The Kings of England had always declined a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, though a plan had been laid before them ever since the reign of Edward the Sixth. But the grievance was now become insufferable, by the numbers of illegal imprisonments, deprivations, and fines levied upon the subject in the late times, for crimes not actionable in the courts of Westminster-Hall; it was necessary therefore to bring the jurisdiction of these courts to a parliamentary standard, but till this should be accomplished by a new law, all that could be done was to vote down the late innovations, which had very little effect; and therefore the house of commons ordered commissioners to be sent into all counties, to demolish and remove out of churches and chapels, all images, altars, or tables turned alterwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments and reliques of idolatry. How far the house of commons who are but one branch of the legislature, may appoint commissioners to put the laws in execution, without the concurrence of the other two, is so very questionable, that I will not take upon me to determine.

The University of Cambridge having complained of the oaths and subscriptions imposed upon young students at their matriculation, the house of commons voted, that the

statute made twenty-seven years ago in the University of Cambridge, imposing upon young scholars a subscription, according to the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, is against law, and the liberty of the subject, and ought not to be imposed upon any students or graduates whatsoever. About five months forwards they passed the same resolution for Oxford, which was not unreasonable, because the Universities had not an unlimited power by the thirty-sixth canon to call upon all their students to subscribe, but only upon such lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a privilege of licensing.

And it ought to be remembered, that all the proceedings of the house of commons this year, in punishing delinquents; and all their votes and resolutions about the circumstances of public worship, had no other view; than the cutting off those illegal additions and innovations, which the superstition of the late times had introduced, and reducing the discipline of the church to the standard of statute law. No man was punished for acting according to law; but the displeasure of the house ran high against those, who in their public ministrations, or in their ecclesiastical courts, had bound those things upon the subject, which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or about which the laws were altogether silent.

CHAP. VI.

CHARLES I.

Antiquity of Liturgies, and the Episcopal Order.—Authors on these Subjects answered.—Puritans charged with Artifice in obtaining Signatures to Petitions against the Hierarchy.—Folly of this Charge.—Root and Branch Petition.—Speeches for it.—Remarks.—Resolutions of the House of Commons.—Proceedings against Papists.—The King favours them.—He reprieves a Priest under Condemnation.—Remonstrance of the Parliament against it.—The King's answer.—Remarks.

THE debates in parliament concerning the English liturgy and hierarchy, engaged the attention of the whole nation, and revived the controversy without doors. The press being open, great numbers of anonymous pamphlets appeared against the establishment, not without indecent and provoking language under these and the like titles; "Prelatical episcopacy not from the apostles. Lord Bishops not the Lord's Bishops. Short view of the prelatical Church of England. A comparison between the liturgy and the mass book. Service book no better than a mess of pottage, &c." Lord Brook attacked the order of Bishops in a treatise of "The nature of episcopacy;" and Archbishop Usher defended the order, in a treatise entitled, "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy;" but then by a bishop, his lordship understood no more, than a stated president over an assembly of presbyters, which the puritans of these times were willing to admit. The most celebrated writer on the side of the establishment, was the learned and pious Bishop Hall. This prelate, upon the

gathering of the present storm, appeared a second time in its defence, in "An humble remonstrance to the high court of parliament;" and sometime after, in a defence of that remonstrance, in vindication of the antiquity of liturgies and of diocesan episcopacy. The Bishop's remonstrance was answered by a celebrated treatise under the title of **SMECTYMNUUS**, a fictitious word made up of the initial letters of the names of the authors, Marshall, E. Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and Spurstow. When the Bishop had replied to their book, these divines published a vindication of their answer to the humble remonstrance.

But the cause of the hierarchy being to be decided at another tribunal, no applications were wanting on either side to make friends in the parliament house, and to get hands to petitions. The industry of the several parties on this occasion is almost incredible; and it being the fashion of the times to judge of the sense of the nation this way, messengers were sent all over England to promote the work. Lord Clarendon, and after him Dr. Nalson and others of that party, complain of great disingenuity, on the side of the puritans. But had this been true, why did they not complain to the committee which the house of commons appointed to enquire into the irregular methods of procuring hands to petitions? His lordship answers, that they were prevailed with to sit still and pass it by; for which we have only his lordship's word, nothing of this kind being to be found in Rushworth, Whitlock, or any disinterested writer of those times.

However it cannot be denied that there was a great deal of art and persuasion used to get hands to petitions on both sides, and many subscribed their names who were not capable to judge of the merits of the cause. The petitions against the hierarchy were of two sorts; some desiring that the whole fabric might be destroyed; of these the chief was the "Root and Branch" petition, signed by the hands of about fifteen thousand citizens and inhabitants of London; others aiming only at a reformation of the hierarchy; of those the chief was the "Ministers' petition," signed with the names of seven hundred beneficed clergymen, and followed by others with

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an incredible number of hands, from different counties. The petitions in favour of the present establishment were not less numerous, for within the compass of this and the next year, there were presented to the King and house of Lords no less than nineteen, from the two universities, from Wales, and other places, subscribed with about one hundred thousand hands, whereof according to Walker, six thousand were nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy. One would think by this account, that the whole nation had been with them; but can it be supposed, that the honest freeholders of Wales, &c. could be proper judges of topics fit only to be debated in a synod of learned divines; But the tacking a hundred thousand names of freeholders on either side, could prove no more than that the honest countrymen acted too much by an implicit faith in their clergy. Loud complaints being made to the parliament of unfair methods of procuring names to petitions, the house appointed a committee to examine into the matter; but there being great faults on both sides, the affair was dropped.

“The **ROOT AND BRANCH**” petition was presented to the house, Dec. 11. 1640. The friends of the establishment, with one of their own in favour of the hierarchy; and soon after another; a third petition was presented by ten or twelve clergymen, in the name of seven hundred of their brethren who had signed it, called “**The MINISTERS’ PETITION**,” praying for a reformation of certain grievances in the hierarchy, but not an entire subversion of it. Two days after the delivery of this petition, his Majesty came to the house, and very unadvisedly interrupted their debates by the following speech! “There are some men that more maliciously than ignorantly will put no difference between reformation and alteration of government: hence it comes to pass, that divine service is irreverently interrupted, and petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied, against the present established government, in the names of divers counties, with threatenings against the Bishops, that they will make them but cyphers. Now I must tell you, that I make a great difference between reformation and alteration of government; though I am for the first, I cannot give way

to the latter. If some of them have overstretched their power, and encroached too much on their temporality, I shall not be unwilling that these things should be redressed and reformed; nay further, if you can shew me, that the Bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient for the state, and not necessary for the government of the church and upholding episcopal jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood that I shall any ways consent that their voices in parliament should be taken away, for in all the times of my predecessors, since the conquest and before, they have enjoyed it as one of the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom.”—This unhappy method was certainly unparliamentary, and did the church no service; nor was there any occasion for it at this time, the house being in no disposition to order a bill to be brought in for subverting the hierarchy.

In February and March, several days were appointed for the consideration of these petitions; and when the bill for the utter extirpating the episcopal order was brought into the house, several warm speeches were made on both sides; I will set the chief of them before the reader at one view, though they were spoken at different times.

Among those who were for *Root and Branch*, or the total extirpating of episcopacy, was Sir. H. Vane, who stood up and argued, that “since the house had voted episcopal government a great impediment to the reformation and growth of religion, it ought to be taken away, for it is so corrupt in the foundation, says he, that if we pull it not down, it will fall about the ears of those that endeavour it within a few years. This government was brought in by anti-christ, and has let in all kinds of superstition into the church. It has been the instrument of displacing the most godly and conscientious ministers, of vexing, punishing, and banishing out of the kingdom, the most religious of all sorts and conditions, that would not comply with their superstitious inventions and ceremonies. In a word, it has turned the edge of the government against the very life and power of godliness, and the favour and protection of it, towards all profane, scandalous and

superstitious person that would uphold their party. It has divided us from the foreign protestant churches, and has done what it could to bind the nation in perpetual slavery to themselves and their superstitious inventions, by the late canons. Further, this government has been no less prejudicial to the civil liberties of our country, as appears by the Bishops preaching up the doctrine of arbitrary power, by their encouraging the late illegal projects to raise money without parliament, by their kindling a war between England and Scotland, and falling in with the plots and combinations that have been entered into against this present parliament. Sir Harry concludes from these premises, that the protestant religion must always be in danger, as long as it is in the hands of such governors; nor can there be any hopes of reformation in the state, while the Bishops have votes in parliament; that the fruit being so bad the tree must be bad. Let us not then halt between two opinions, says he, but with one heart and voice give glory to God, by complying with his providence, and with the safety and peace of the church and state, which is by passing the foot and branch bill."

Mr. White entered more fully into the merits of the cause, and considered the present Bishops with regard to their baronies, their temporalities, and their spiritualities. The former, says he, are merely of the Kings, favour, and began in this kingdom the fourth of William the Conqueror, by virtue whereof they have had place in the house of peers, but in the seventh Henry Eighth, it was resolved by all the judges of England, that the King may hold his parliament by himself, his temporal Lords and Commons without any Bishop; for a Bishop has not any place in parliament by reason of his spiritualities, but merely by reason of his barony, and accordingly acts of parliament have been made without them, as 2d Richard II. cap. 3. and at other times; nor were they ever called spiritual Lords in our statutes, till 16th Richard II. cap. 1. By the Bishop's spiritualities I mean those spiritual powers which raise him above the order of a presbyter; and here I consider, first, his authority over presbyters by the oath of canonical obedience, by which he may command them to collect tenths granted in convocation, according to 20th

Henry Sixth. cap. 13. Secondly, his office, which is partly judicial, and partly ministerial; by the former, he judges in his courts all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual within his diocese, and of the fitness of such as are presented to him to be instituted into benefices; by the latter he is to sacred places dedicated to divine service. 9th Henry Sixth, cap. 17. he is to provide for the officiating of cures in the avoidance of churches, on neglect of the patron's presenting thereunto. He is to certify loyal (or lawful) matrimony, general bastardy, and excommunication. He is to execute judgments given in *quare impedit*, upon the writ *ad admittendum clericum*. He is to attend upon trials for life, to report the sufficiency or insufficiency of such as demand clergy; and lastly, he is to ordain deacons and presbyters.

Now all these being given to these Bishops *jure humano*, says Mr. White, I conceive, may for just reasons be taken away. He affirms, that according to scripture, a Bishop and presbyter is one and the same person; for 1. Their duties are mentioned as the same, the Bishop being to teach and rule his church, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5. and the presbyter being to do the very same, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. 2. Presbyters in scripture are said to be Bishops of the Holy Ghost, Acts xx. 28. And St. Paul charges the presbyters of Ephesus, to take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops or overseers; and other Bishops the Holy Ghost never made. 3 Among the enumeration of church-officers, Eph. iv. 11. whereof the three former are extraordinary, and are ceased, there remains only the pastor and teacher, which is the very same with the presbyter. The Bishop as he is more than this, is no officer given by God; and it is an encroachment upon the Kingly office of Christ, to admit other officers into the church than he himself has appointed. Seeing then episcopacy may be taken away in all, wherein it exceeds the presbyter's office, which is certainly *jure divino*, we ought to restore their presbyters to their rights which the Bishops have taken from them, as particularly to the right of ordination, excommunication, and liberty to preach the whole counsel of God without restraint from

a bishop; they should have their share in the discipline and government of the church; and in a word, all superiority of order between bishops and presbyters should be taken away. Mr. White is further of opinion, that the Bishops should be deprived of their baronies, and all intermeddling with civil affairs; that institution and induction, the jurisdiction of tithes causes matrimonial and testamentary, and other usurpations of the ecclesiastical courts, should be restored to the civil judicature, and be determined by the laws of the land.

In order to take off the force of these arguments, in favour of the Root and Branch petition, the friends of the hierarchy said, that the very best things might be corrupted; that to take away the order of Bishops was to change the whole constitution for they know not what; they therefore urged the ministers' petition for reformation, and declaimed with vehemence against the corruptions of the late times.

Lord Falkland, who in the judgment of Clarendon was the most extraordinary person of his age, stood up and said: "He is a great stranger in our Israel, who knows not that this kingdom has long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and that a principal cause of both has been some Bishops and their adherents, who under pretence of uniformity have brought in superstition and scandal, under the title of decency; who have defiled our churches by adorning them, and slackened their strictness of that union that was between us and those of our religion beyond sea; an action both impolitic and ungodly. They have been less eager on those who damn our church, than on those who on weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reason, only abstain from it. Nay, it has been more dangerous for men to go to a neighbouring parish when they had no sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recusants! While mass has been said in security, a conventicle has been a crime; and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies has been more exacted than the conforming to christianity; and while men for scruples have been undone, for attempts of sodomy, they have only been admonished.

“They have resembled the dog in the fable, they have neither practised themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would. They have brought in catechising only to thrust out preaching; cried down lectures by the name of faction, either because other men's industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect, or with intent to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares while it was night. In this they have abused his Majesty as well as his people, for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions, that will always trouble the schools, they made use of this declaration to tie up one side and let the other loose. The truth is, Mr. Speaker, as some ministers in our state first took away our money, and afterwards endeavoured to make our money not worth taking, by depraving it; so these men first depressed the power of preaching, and then laboured to make it such, as the harm had not been such if it had been depressed; the chief subjects of the sermons being the *jus divinum* of bishops and tithes; the sacredness of the clergy; the sacrilege of *in-*propriations; the demolishing of puritanism; the building up of the prerogative, &c. In short, their work has been to try how much of the papist might be brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the gospel, without bringing themselves in danger of being destroyed by the law.

“These men have been betrayers of our rights and liberties, by encouraging such men as Dr. Beal and Manwaring; by appearing for monopolies and ship-money; some of them have laboured to exclude all persons and causes of the clergy from the temporal magistrate, and by hindering prohibitions, to have taken away the only legal bounds to their arbitrary power; they have encouraged all the clergy to suits, and have brought all suits to the council table, that having all power in ecclesiastical matters, they might have an equal power in temporals; they have both kindled and blown the common fire of both nations, and have been the first and principal cause of the breach since the pacification at Berwick.

“Mr. Speaker, I have represented no small quantity, and no mean degree of guilt, but this charge does not lie

against episcopacy, but against the persons who have abused the sacred function; for if we consider, that the first spreaders of christianity, the first defenders of it, both with their ink and blood, as well as our late reformers, were all Bishops; and even now, in this great defection of the order, there are some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some that have been learned opposers of popery, and zealous suppressers of arminianism, between whom and the inferior clergy there has been no distinction in frequent preaching; whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; I say if we consider this, we shall conclude, the Bishops may be good men, and let us but give good men good rules, and we shall have good government and good times.

“I am content to take away from them all those things which may in any degree of possibility, occasion the like mischiefs with those I have mentioned; I am sure, neither their lordships, their judging of tithes, wills, and marriages, no nor their voices in parliament, are *jure divino*. If their revenues are too great, let us leave them only such proportion, as may serve in some good degree, for the support of the dignity of learning and encouragement of students. If it be found they will employ their laws against the weaker brethren, let us take away those laws, and let no ceremonies which any number count unlawful, and no man counts necessary, be imposed upon them; but let us not abolish, upon a few days debate, an order that has lasted in most churches these sixteen hundred years. I do not believe the order of Bishops to be *jure divino*, nor do I think them unlawful; but since all great changes in government are dangerous, I am, for trying if we cannot take away the inconveniences of Bishops, and the inconveniences of no Bishops. Let us therefore go upon the debate of grievances, and if the grievances may be taken away and the order stand, we shall not need to commit the London petition at all; but if it shall appear that the abolition of the one cannot be but by the destruction of the other, then let us not commit the London petition, but grant it.”

Lord George Digby, an eminent royalist, spoke with

great warmth against the root and branch petition, and with no less zeal for a reformation of grievances. "If the London petition, says his lordship, may be considered only as an index of grievances, I should wink at the faults of it, for no man within these walls is more sensible of the heavy grievances of church government than myself; nor whose affections are keener for the clipping those wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolence; but having reason to believe that some aim at the total extirpation of Bishops, I cannot restrain myself from labouring to divert it. I look upon the petition with terror, as on a comet or a blazing star raised and kindled out of the poisonous exhalations of a corrupted hierarchy: methoughts the comet had a terrible tail, and pointed to the north, and I fear all the prudence of this house will have a hard work to hinder this meteor from causing such distempers and combustions as it portends by its appearance; whatever the event be, I shall discharge my conscience freely, unbiassed both from popularity and court respect."

His lordship then goes on to argue the unreasonableness of abolishing a thing, because of some abuses that attend it; he complains of the presumption of the petitioners, in desiring the repeal of so many laws at once, and not applying in a more modest manner for a redress of grievances, as the ministers have done. On the other hand, he allows the behaviour of the prelates had given too just an occasion for it; that no people had been so insulted as the people of England had lately been, by the insolencies of the prelates. "Their vengeance has been so laid, says his lordship, as if it were meant no generation, no degree, no complexion of mankind, should escape it. Was there a man of tender conscience, him they loaded with unnecessary impositions; was there a man of legal conscience, him they nettled with innovations, and fresh introductions to popery; was there a man of an humble spirit, him they trampled to dirt in their pride; was there a man of proud spirit, him they have bereft of reason, with indignation at their superlative insolence;

was there a man faithfully attached to the rights of the crown, how has he been galled by their own oath; was there a man that durst mutter against their insolencies, he may enquire for his lugs. They have been within the Bishop's visitation as if they would not only derive their brandishment of the spiritual sword from St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to cut off ears; for my part I am so inflamed with these things, that I am ready to cry with the loudest of the fifteen thousand, down with them to the ground.

“But, continues his lordship, we must divest ourselves of passion; we all agree a reformation of church government is necessary; but before I can strike at the root, and agree to a total extirpation of episcopacy, it must be made manifest to me,—1. That the mischiefs we have felt arise from the nature of episcopacy, and not from its abuse. 2. Such a form of government must be set before us as is not liable to proportionable inconveniences. 3. It must appear that the Utopia is practicable. Let us therefore lay aside the thoughts of extirpating Bishops, and reduce them to their primitive standard; let us retrench their dioceses; let them govern by assemblies of their clergy; let us exclude them from intermeddling in secular affairs, and appoint a standing committee to collect all the grievances of the church, and no man's votes shall be given with more zeal for redressing them than mine.”

Surely the Bishops must have behaved very ill in the late times, that their very best friends could load them with reproaches! And it deserves to be remembered, says Clarendon, that in the midst of these complaints the King was never mentioned but with great honour; all the grievances being laid at the door of his ministers, and all hopes of redress being placed in his Majesty alone. At the close of the debate, it was ordered, that the root and branch petition should remain in the hands of the clerk of the house, with direction that no copies should be delivered out; but after the throwing out of the bill to deprive the bishops of their votes in parliament, it was revived, and a bill brought in for the utter extirpating of the whole order, as will be seen hereafter.

The house was unanimous for a reformation of the hierarchy, which was all that the body of puritans as yet desired. The ministers' petition was therefore referred to a committee of the whole house, and they came to this resolution,—“That the legislative and judicial power of Bishops in the house of peers, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by bill; and that a bill be drawn up to this purpose.”—It was resolved further,—“That for Bishops or any other clergyman to be in the commission of peace, or to have any judicial power in the Star-chamber or in any civil court, is a great hindrance to their spiritual function, and fit to be taken away by bill.”—And not many days after it was resolved, that they should not be privy counsellors, or in any temporal offices.

While the house of commons were thus preparing to clip the wings of the Bishops, they were not unmindful of the Roman catholics; these were criminals of an higher nature, and had a deep share in the present calamities; their numbers were growing, and their pride and insolence insufferable: they flocked in great numbers about the court, and insulted the very courts of judicature; the Queen protected them, and the King and Archbishop countenanced them as friends of the prerogative. Andreas ab Harbernsfield, the Queen of Bohemia's chaplain, advised his grace of a popish confederacy against the King and the Church of England; but when the names of Montague, Sir K. Digby, Winter, Windebank, and Porter, all papists and officers about the court, were mentioned as parties, the whole was discredited and stifled. When the house of commons petitioned the King to issue out a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against papists, it was done in so defective a manner, that the committee reported it would avail nothing: for in the clause which enjoins all popish rescuants to depart the city within fifteen days, it is added, without special licence had heretofore; so that if they could obtain a licence from his Majesty, or from the lords of the council, the bishop, the lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant of the county, then

they were not within the penalty. Besides the disarming of all popish recusants was limited to recusants convicted; so that if they were not convicted, a justice of peace could not disarm them. They observed further, that many recusants had letters of grace to protest their persons and estates; that instead of departing from London there was a greater resort of papists at present than heretofore; and that their insolence and threatening language was insufferable and dangerous.

A gentleman having given information in open court to one of the judges of the King's-bench, that in one parish in the city of Westminster there were about six thousand recusants, the committee appointed Mr. Heywood, an active justice of the peace, to collect and bring in a list of the names of all recusants within that city and liberties; for which purpose all the inhabitants were summoned to appear and take the oaths in Westminster Hall: but while the justice was in the execution of his office, and pressing one James a papist to take them, the wretch drew out his knife and stabbed the justice in open court, telling him, he gave him that for persecuting poor catholics. The old gentleman sunk down with the wound, but by the care of surgeons was recovered, and the criminal was taken into custody. This Mr. Heywood was the very person who being commanded by James the First, to search the cellars under the parliament house at the time of the gunpowder plot, took Guy Faux with his dark lanthorn in his hand, which lanthorn is preserved among the archives of Oxford, with Mr. Heywood's name upon it in letters of gold.

The parliament alarmed at this daring attempt, sent orders to all the justices of peace requiring them to command the church-wardens to make a return of the names of all recusants within their parishes, in order to their being proceeded against according to law. The houses petitioned his Majesty to discharge all popish officers in garrison or in the army, who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to fill up their places with protestants. And they petitioned his Majesty to remove all papists from court: and that

the whole body of Roman catholics might be disarmed. The answer returned was, that his Majesty would take care the papists about the court should give no just cause of scandal; and as for disarming them, he was content it should be done according to law. So that their addresses had no other effect than to exasperate the papists, the King and Queen being determined to protect them as long as they were able.

There was at this time one Goodman a seminary priest under condemnation in Newgate, whom the King instead of leaving to the sentence of the law, reprieved in the face of his parliament; whereupon both houses agreed upon the following remonstrance:—That considering the present juncture, they conceived the strict execution of the laws against recusants more necessary than formerly. 1. Because by divers petitions from several parts of the kingdom, complaints are made of the great increase of popery and superstition; priests and jesuits swarm in great abundance in this kingdom, and appear as boldly as if there were no laws against them.—2. It appears to the house, that of late years many priests and jesuits condemned for high treason have been discharged out of prison.—3. That at this time the Pope has a nuncio or agent in this city; and papists go as publicly to mass at Denmark house, and to St. James's and the ambassadors' chapels, as others do to their parish churches.—4. That the putting the laws in execution against papists, is for the preservation and advancement of the true religion established in this kingdom; for the safety of their Majesties' persons, and the security of the government.—5. It is found that Goodman the priest has been twice formerly committed and discouraged; that his residence now in London was in absolute contempt of his Majesty's proclamation; that he was formerly a minister of the Church of England; and therefore they humbly desire he may be left to the justice of the law.

To this remonstrance the King replied,—That the increase of popery and superstition, if any such thing had happened, was contrary to his inclination: but to take off all occasions of complaint he would order the laws to be put in execution.—That he would set forth a proclama-

tion to command jesuits and priests to depart the kingdom within a month; and in case they either failed or returned, they should be proceeded against according to law.—As touching the Pope's Nuncio Rosetti, his commission reached only to keep up a correspondence between the Queen and the Pope, in things relating to the exercise of religion; that this correspondence came within the compass of the full liberty of conscience secured her by the articles of marriage; however since Rosetti's character happened to be misunderstood and gave offence, he had persuaded the Queen to consent to his being recalled.—Further, his Majesty promised to take care to restrain his subjects from going to mass at Denmark house, St. James's, and the chapels of the ambassadors.—Lastly, touching Goodman, he was content to remit him to the pleasure of the house; but he puts them in mind that neither Queen Elizabeth nor King James ever put any to death merely for religion; and desired them to consider the inconveniences that such a conduct might draw upon his subjects and other protestants in foreign countries.

How strange this assertion! Let the reader recollect the many executions of papists for denying the supremacy; the burning the Dutch anabaptists, for whom Mr. Fox the martyrologist interceded in vain; and the hanging of Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, &c. in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; let him also remember the burning of Bartholomew Legat, and Edward Wightman for the Arian heresy by King James the First, (of all which and some others, the commons in their reply put his Majesty in mind,) and then judge of the truth of this part of his declaration. Nor did the jesuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew they had a friend in the King's bosom that would protect them, and therefore instead of removing out of the land, they lay concealed within the verge of the court. Even Goodman himself was not executed, though the King promised to leave him to the law, and though he himself petitioned, like Jonah the prophet, to be thrown overboard to allay the tempest between the King and his subjects. Such was his Majesty's

attachment to this people! to the apparent hazard of the protestant religion and the peace of his kingdom, and to the sacrificing all good correspondence between himself and his parliament.

CHAP. VII.



CHARLES I.

Impeachment and Trial of the Earl of Strafford.—His Character.—Plot to dissolve the Parliament.—Act for its continuance.—Protestation of Parliament.—Bill against Bishops' Votes in Parliament.—Bill for extirpation of Bishops, &c.—The Bill lost in the House of Lords.—Archbishop Usher's reduction of Episcopacy to Synodical Government.—Remarks.—The King's conduct in passing the Bills for abolishing the High Commission and Star-Chamber.—Further attacks upon the Bishops.—Thirteen of them impeached.—The King's progress into Scotland.—Proceedings of the House of Commons.—Unsettled State of Religion.—The House of Lords disagree with the Commons.—Said state of Religion as represented by the Royalists.—Archbishop Laud suspended.—Distracted state of the Nation.—Death of Bishop Davenant, Bishop Montague, and Mr. Eaton.

IT is impossible to account for the prodigious changes of this and the years immediately succeeding, without taking a short view of some civil occurrences that paved the way for them. In pursuance of the design, of bringing corrupt ministers to justice, the parliament began with Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, an able statesman, but a most dangerous enemy of the laws and liberties of his country, whom they impeached of high treason, and brought to his trial. The grand article of his impeachment was, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbi-

trary and tyrannical government. This was subdivided into several branches, supported by a multiplicity of facts, none of which were directly treason by law, but being put together were construed to be such by accumulation. The Earl's reply to the facts consisted partly in excuses and evasions; with an humble acknowledgment that in some things he had been mistaken; but his principal defence rested upon a point of law, whether an endeavour to subvert the fundamental form of government and the laws of the land, was high treason at common law, or by any statute in force. Mr. Lane, the counsel for the prisoner maintained,—1. That all treasons were to be reduced to the particulars specified in the 25th Edward the Third, cap. 2. 2. That nothing else was or could be treason; and that it was to be enacted by the 1st Henry the Fourth, cap. 10. 3. That there had been no precedent to the contrary since that time. And 4. That by 1st Mary, cap. 12. an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the land is declared to be no more than felony.

The commons felt the weight of these arguments; and not being willing to enter into debate with a private barrister, changed their impeachment into a bill of attainder. The attainder passed the commons, but it is thought would have been lost in the house of lords had it not been for the following accident, which put it out of the power of the Earl's friends to save him. The King being weary of his parliament and desirous to protect his servant, consented to a project of some persons in the greatest trust about the court, to bring the army that was raised against the Scots up to London, in order to awe the two houses, to rescue the Earl, and to take possession of the city of London. Clarendon says, the last motion was rejected with abhorrence, and that the gentleman who made it was the person that discovered the whole plot. The conspirators met in the Queen's lodgings at Whitehall, where a petition was drawn for the officers of the army to sign, and to present to his Majesty; with a tender of their readiness to wait upon him in defence of his prerogative against the turbulent spirits of the house of commons; the draught was shown to the King, and signed in testimony of his Ma-

jesty's approbation C. R. but the plot being discovered, with the names of the conspirators ; all of them absconded, and some fled immediately into France.

Mr. Pym opened the conspiracy to the house of commons, and acquainted them, that among other branches of the plot, one was to seize the Tower, to put the Earl of Strafford at the head of the Irish army of papists who were to be transported into England, and to secure the important town of Portsmouth, in order to receive succours from France ; Sir W. Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, confessed that the King had sent him express orders to receive a hundred men into that garrison, to favour the Earl's escape ; and that the Earl himself offered him twenty thousand pounds in money, and to advance his son in marriage to one of the best fortunes in the kingdom. Lord Clarendon has used all his rhetoric to colour over this conspiracy, and make posterity believe it was little more than the idle chat of some officers at a tavern ; but they who will compare the depositions in Rushworth with his lordship's account of that matter, says Burnet, will find, that there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe. The court would have disowned it, but their keeping the conspirators in their places, made the parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was yet discovered ; they therefore sent orders immediately to secure the town and haven of Portsmouth, and to disband the Irish army : they voted that all papists should be removed from about the court ; and directed letters to Sir J. Ashley, to induce the army to a dutiful behaviour, and to assure them of their full pay.

The consequences of this plot were infinitely prejudicial to the King's affairs ; the court lost its reputation ; the reverence due to the King and Queen was lessened ; and the house of commons began to be esteemed the only barrier of the people's liberties ; for which purpose they entered into a solemn protestation to stand by each other with their lives and fortunes ; the Scots army was continued for their security ; a bill for the continuance of the present parliament was brought in and urged with great advantage ; and last of all, by the discovery of this plot, the fate of the Earl of Strafford was determined ; great

numbers of people crowded in a tumultuous manner to Westminster crying *justice! justice!* and threatening violence to those members of the house of commons who had voted against his attainder. In this situation of affairs, and in the absence of the bench of bishops, as being a case of blood, the bill passed with the dissent only of eleven peers. The King had some scruples about giving it the royal assent, because though he was convinced the Earl had been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, he did not apprehend that an endeavour to subvert the fundamental form of government, and to introduce an arbitrary power was high treason; his Majesty consulted his bishops and judges, but was not satisfied till he received a letter from the Earl himself, beseeching his Majesty to sign the bill, in order to make way for an happy agreement between him and his subjects. Mr. Whitlock insinuated that this letter was but a feint of the Earl's; for when secretary Carlton acquainted him with what the King had done, and with the motive, which was his own consent, he rose up in a great surprize and lifting up his eyes to heaven said, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." Two days after this, he was executed upon Tower-Hill, and submitted to the axe with a Roman bravery and courage; but at the restoration of Charles the Second, his attainder was reversed, and the articles of accumulative treason declared null, because what is not treason in the several parts cannot amount to treason in the whole.

This was the unhappy fate of the Earl of Strafford, once an eminent patriot and assertor of the liberties of his country, but after he was called to court, one of the most arbitrary ministers that this nation ever produced. He was certainly a gentleman of distinguished abilities, as appears by the incomparable defence he made on his trial, which gained him more reputation and esteem with the people, than all the later actions of his put together; but still he was a public enemy of his country, and had as great a share in those fatal counsels that brought on the civil war as any man then living.

The execution of this great personage struck terror

into all the King's late ministers; some of them resigned their places, and others retired into France. Six of the judges were impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, for interpreting away the laws of their country; but the parliament had too much business upon their hands to attend their prosecution at present. Thus this unhappy prince was deprived of those counsellors who were in his own arbitrary sentiments, and left as in a manner to himself, and the powerful influence of his bigotted Queen and her cabal of papists; for the new ministers who succeeded were such in whom the King would place no confidence. So that most men expected that these vigorous proceedings would induce him to put a speedy end to the session.

But that which prevented it, was the want of money to pay the armies in the north; his Majesty pressed the houses to dispatch this affair, and relieve the country from the burden of contribution; on the other hand, the commons looked upon the Scots as their security, and that if they were sent home, they should again be at the mercy of the prerogative, supported by a standing army. However, they had begun to borrow money of the city of London towards the expence; but when the plot to dissolve the parliament broke out, the citizens declared they would lend nothing upon parliamentary security, because their sitting was so very precarious. This gave rise to a motion for the continuance of the present parliament till they should dissolve themselves, which was presently turned into a short bill, and passed both houses with very little opposition, as the only expedient that could be thought of to support the public credit, and this bill was signed by commission. All men stood amazed at the King's weakness on this occasion; for by this hasty and unadvised measure he concurred in a change of the whole constitution, giving the two houses a co-ordinate power in the legislature with himself, for as long time as they pleased: if his Majesty had fixed their continuance to a limited time, it might have satisfied the people and have saved the prerogative; but by making them perpetual, he parted with the sceptre out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of his parliament.

While the commons were alarmed with the discovery of

the plot, and the flight of the conspirators, Mr. Pym moved that both houses might join in some band of defence for the security of their liberties, and of the protestant religion; accordingly the following protestation was drawn up, and subscribed by the whole house. I, A. B. do in the presence of Almighty God, vow and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true reformed protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish innovations in this realm, contrary to the said doctrine; and according to the duty of my allegiance, I will maintain and defend his Majesty's royal person, honour, and estate; also the power and privilege of parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, and of every person who shall make this protestation in whatsoever he shall do, in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and means, endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such, who shall by force, practice, council, plot, conspiracy, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary in this protestation contained. And further, that I shall in all just and honourable ways endeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and neither for hope, fear, or any other respect, shall relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation." This protestation was made by all the peers present in parliament, except the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Roberts, even by the bishops themselves; though as Clarendon observes, it comes little short of the Scots covenant. Their lordships indeed would have interpreted those words, "The true reformed protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England," to have included the government or hierarchy of the church; but it was resolved and declared by the house, that by those words was meant, "Only the public doctrine professed in the said church, so far as it is opposite to popery and popish innovations; and that the said words are not to extend to the maintenance of any form of worship, discipline or government nor of rites and ceremonies."

Within two days the protestation was taken by eighty temporal lords, seventeen bishops, nine judges, and four hundred and thirty-eight of the house of commons. Next day it was printed and sent to the sheriffs and justices of peace in the several counties of England, to be taken by the whole nation, and as some of the remoter counties were complained of for neglect, the house of commons passed a bill to oblige all persons to take it throughout the kingdom; but this bill was lost in the house of lords, the whole bench of bishops opposing it; whereupon the commons resolved, that whosoever would not take the protestation, was unfit to bear offices in the church or commonwealth.

This was carrying matters to a very extraordinary length; there had been a parliamentary association in the reign of Elizabeth, which her Majesty confirmed, and a solemn league and covenant in Scotland, which the King had complied with; but the enforcing a protestation or vow upon his Majesty's subjects without his consent, was assuming a power, which even this dangerous crisis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this parliament was invested by the late acts of continuance, can by no means support or justify. The odium of putting a stop to the protestation fell upon the Bench of Bishops, who were already sinking under their own weight; and his Majesty's not interposing in this affair was afterwards made use of as a precedent for imposing the solemn league and covenant upon the whole kingdom without his concurrence.

The Puritans had always objected to the lordly titles and dignities of the bishops, but their votes in the house of peers were now esteemed a very great grievance, and an effectual bar to the proceedings of parliament. It was remembered that they had been always averse to reformation; that they had voted unanimously against the supremacy in Henry the Eighth's reign; and against the act of uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's. It was now observed that they were the creatures of the court, and a dead weight against all reformation in church or state; twenty-six votes being sufficient at any time to turn the scale in that house, whose full number was not above an

hundred; it was therefore moved, that a bill might be brought in to take away their seats in parliament, which was readily agreed to, and to make way for the passing of this bill, it was alleged, that if this was granted the commons would be satisfied, and little or nothing further attempted to the prejudice of the church. It therefore passed the house of commons without opposition, and was sent up to the house of peers. Lord Kimbleton, it is said, would have persuaded the bishops to resign their votes in parliament, adding, that then the temporal lords would be obliged in honour to preserve their jurisdiction and revenues. The Earl of Essex also employed some body to treat privately with the bishops on the same head; but they rejected all overtures of accommodation, resolving to make their utmost efforts and to keep possession of their seats till a superior strength should dispossess them; accordingly the bill met with a vigorous opposition in the upper house, and after a second reading was thrown out, without so much as being committed, the whole Bench of Bishops voting for themselves. But it would have been thrown out if the Bishops had not voted at all; for though the temporal lords were content to exclude them from all secular offices and employments in the state, they were in no disposition to take away their suffrages in the house of peers.

The loss of this bill with the resolute behaviour of the Bishops who were determined to part with nothing, inflamed the commons, and made them conclude, that there were no hopes of reformation while they were a branch of the legislature. It was observed that the Bishops were unusually diligent in giving their attendance upon the house at this time, and always voted with the Court. Some of the leading members therefore, in the warmth of their resentments, brought in a bill in pursuance of the root and branch petition, which had been laid aside for some time, for the utter extirpation of all bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chantors, with all chancellors, officials, and officers belonging to them; and for the disposing of their lands, manors, &c. as the parliament shall appoint. A rash and inconsiderate attempt! For could they expect that the Bishops should

abolish themselves? Or that the temporal lords should consent to the utter extirpating an order of churchmen, when they would not so much as give up one branch of their privilege? The reading this bill was very much opposed, because it was brought in contrary to the usage of parliament, without first asking leave; however, it was once read and then adjourned for almost two months; a little before the King went to Scotland it was carried by a majority of thirty-one voices to read it a second time and commit it to a committee of the whole house, of which Mr. Hyde, Lord Clarendon, was chairman, who made use of so much art and industry to embarrass the affair, that after twenty days the bill was dropt.

Sir E. Deering's speech in the committee will throw much light upon the sentiments of the puritans of these times. The ambition of some prelates, says he, will not let them see how inconsistent two contrary functions are in one and the same person, and therefore there is left neither root nor branch of that so good and necessary a bill which was lately sent up, and consequently no hope of such a reformation as we all aim at; what hopes then can we have, that this bill, which strikes at root and branch, both of their seats of justice, and of their episcopal chairs in the church will pass as it is, and without a tender of some other government in lieu of this, since the voices are still the same which threw out your former bill. "Sir Edward therefore proposed another form of government, if the house should think fit to abolish the present, which was in a manner the same with Archbishop Usher's hereafter mentioned, As, I. That every shire should be a distinct diocese or church. II. That in every shire or church twelve or more able divines should be appointed, in the nature of an old primitive constant presbytery. III. That over every presbytery there should be a president, let him be called bishop, or overseer, or moderator, or superintendent, or by what other name you please, provided there be one in every shire, for the government and direction of the presbytery, in the nature of the speaker in the house of commons, or chairman of a committee. Accordingly it was resolved, That ecclesiastical power for the government of the church be exercised by commissioners, and that the

members for every county bring in the names of nine persons to be ecclesiastical commissioners, on whom the power of church government shall be devolved; but that no clergyman be of the commission. This was designed as a temporary provision, and shews that the puritans of these times did not intend the presbyterian government, but only a reduction of episcopacy to what they apprehended a more primitive standard; and if the bishops would have relinquished some part of their jurisdiction, the mischief that befel them afterwards might have been prevented, however, for the present the prosecution of it was laid aside.

But the house went more readily into the debate for abolishing deans and chapters, and applying their revenues to better purposes. This alarmed the cathedral men, and put them upon consulting how to ward off the danger that threatened them; for this purpose one divine was deputed from every cathedral in England, to solicit their friends in the houses on behalf of their several foundations. These deputies drew up a petition to the lords and commons to be heard by their counsel; but being informed that the house would not allow them that benefit, and that if they had any thing to offer they must appear and plead their own cause; they made choice of Dr. Hackett, prebendary of St. Paul's, as their advocate, who being admitted to the bar of the house, after the petitions from the two Universities had been read, made a laboured speech in their behalf. In the afternoon of the same day, Dr. Burges appeared on the other side of the question; and made a long speech concerning the unprofitableness of those corporations; he complained of the debauchery of singing men, and of their vicious conversation; he spoke against music in churches, as useless and hurtful. He made a distinct answer to the particulars of Dr. Hackett's speech; and in conclusion said, though he apprehended it necessary to apply these foundations to better purposes, it was by no means lawful to alienate them from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any private person's profit.—The further debate of this bill was adjourned for a week, and then to a committee of the whole house.

After a long debate the house came to the following

resolutions “ That all deans, deaus and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chaunters, canons, and petty canons, and their officers, shall be utterly abolished and taken away out of the church; and that all the lands taken by this bill from deans and chapters, shall be put into the hands of feoffees, to be employed for the support of a fit number of preaching ministers for the service of every church, and for the reparation of the said churches, provision being made, that his Majesty be no loser in his rents, first fruits, and other duties; and that a competent maintenancce shall be made to the several persons concerned, if they appear not delinquents to this house.” But none of these votes passed into a law; nor was there the least prospect of their being confirmed by the lords, as long as the bishops were in that house, who stood together like a wall against every attempt of the commons for alterations in the church, till by an unexcepted providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own ruin.

c The firmness of the Bishops against all abatements in favour of the puritans, exasperated the people, and put an end to all prospects of agreement. A Committee of Accommodation had been appointed by the house of lords to consider of such innovations in religion as were proper to be taken away, which by the plot of the court to bring up the army, and the loss of the late bills for reformation of the hierarchy, was now broken up. At their first meeting they appointed a sub-committee of bishops, and divines of different persuasions, to prepare matters for their debate; the Bishop of Lincoln was chairman of both, and was ordered to call together the sub-committee with all convenient speed. They consulted together six days in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster; and the result of their conferences was drawn up in certain propositions and queries, relating to innovations in doctrine and discipline, with some considerations for the improvement of the book of Common Prayer, but no mention was made of a reformation of episcopacy, because their chairman the Bishop of Lincoln had undertaken that province, and accordingly presented the house of lords with a reconciling scheme, which was dropt after the first reading.

Archbishop Usher offered another scheme, for the reduction of episcopacy into the form of synodical government, received in the ancient church; in which his grace supposes, that of the many elders that ruled the church of Ephesus, there was one stated president, whom our Saviour calls the *Angel*: and whom Ignatius in one of his epistles, calls the *Bishop*, to whom in conjunction with the elders or presbyters, the whole government of the church, both as to doctrine and discipline, was committed. He therefore proposes, that these be continued; and for a regulation of their jurisdiction, that suffragans should be appointed to hold monthly synods of presbyters, from whom there should be an appeal to diocesan, provincial, and national, ones.

Several other proposals were made to the house of commons by those puritans, who where for revising and altering some things in the church, as, that his Majesty should be moved to call a national synod, or a select number of divines of the three nations under his Majesty's government; with an intimation to all reformed churches to send their deputies, to settle a uniform model of government for the church of England, to be confirmed by parliament, leaving to other nations a christian liberty in those forms of discipline which are most agreeable to their civil government. Others proposed, that the present liturgy might be continued, but that the apocryphal lessons be omitted; that all sentences of scripture be according to the last translation; that the word minister be used instead of priest; with some other amendments. That with regard to episcopal government, Bishops be obliged to constant preaching in their metropolitan or parochial churches; that they never ordain without consent of three or four presbyters, at least; that they do not suspend by their sole authority, but with consent of presbyters, and that for weighty causes; that none may be excommunicated but by the Bishop, with consent of the pastor in whose parish the delinquent dwells; and that for heinous and very scandalous crimes only; that the fees of ecclesiastical courts be regulated, and that Bishops, chancellors, and their officials, may be subject to the censure of provincial synods and convocations.

But all these attempts for accommodation were blasted by the obstinacy of the Bishops, and by the discovery of the plot to bring the army to London, to dissolve the parliament; this put the nation into a ferment, and widened the distance between the King and the two houses, upon which the committee broke up, without bringing any thing to perfection. There were deep resentments in the breasts of both parties; the Bishops were incensed at the bold attacks of the house of commons upon their peerage and spiritual jurisdiction; and the puritans had a quick sense of their former sufferings, which made them restless till they had abridged their power. It is very remarkable, and looks like an appearance of the divine displeasure against the spirit of these times, that Archbishop Usher's scheme for the reduction of episcopacy, which at this time would have satisfied the chief body of the puritans, could not be obtained from the King and the Bishops; that afterwards when the King offered this very scheme at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, the parliament and puritan divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots brethren. Again, when the presbyterian ministers at the restoration of Charles Second, presented to his Majesty as a model with which they were satisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole body, both the King and Bishops rejected it with contempt, and would not suffer it to be debated.

It may not be improper in this place, to make a few remarks upon this part of Rapin's History of England who in his account of these times seems to represent the puritans as presbyterians, and as having formed a conspiracy against the whole fabric of the church, from the very beginning of this parliament; whereas the state of the controversy between the church and puritans was now changed: in the reigns of Elizabeth and James First, the puritans were for the most part presbyterians, though even then there were many episcopalians among them; but from the time that arminianism prevailed in the church, and the whole body of the calvinists came to be distinguished by the name of doctrinal puritans, both parties seemed to unite in a moderate episcopacy, there being little or no mention of the old book of discipline for twenty

years before the commencement of the civil war, and all the controversy turning upon points of calvinism; upon a reduction of the exorbitant power of the Bishops; or upon innovations and ceremonies. There were few either among the clergy or laity, who had a zeal for presbytery, or desired any more than to be rid of their oppressions. Rapin however, is of opinion, that among the members of parliament there were real presbyterians, who thought no doubt, of altering the whole government of the church. These are represented as deep politicians, as working underground, and making use of all kinds of artifices to accomplish their designs, which they took care not to discover. He owns indeed, that the presbyterians were not very numerous in the house, but that they were supported by a pretty great party in the kingdom, and particularly by the Scots. Which assertion seem to me to require stronger evidence than he has produced

It must be confessed, that soon after the beginning of the parliament, there were many among the common people who were enemies to the whole ecclesiastical constitution, being supported by the Scots commissioners, who had conceived an implacable antipathy against the order of Bishops, which they had voted contrary to the word of God. But this was not the case of the puritan clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the tyranny of the Bishops, and were willing to leave the parliament to model the government of the church as they pleased. And although as the influence of the Scots over the two houses increased, presbytery prevailed; and when the parliament were at their mercy, and forced to submit to what conditions they would impose upon them for their assistance, the kirk discipline gained the ascendant, and at length advanced into a divine right in the assembly of divines; yet the parliament would never come into it, and when the Scots were gone home, it dwindled by degrees, till it was almost totally eclipsed by the rising greatness of the Independents. It appears therefore to me, that there was no formed design as yet, either in the house of commons, or among the puritan clergy, to subvert the hierarchy, and erect the presbyterian government upon its ruins; there were no considerable number of

presbyterian ministers in the nation ; and the leading members in both houses were known to be of another stamp. So that what was done in the house of commons afterwards, was the result of the situation of their affairs, and not of any formed design ; as that changed, so did their councils and measures, 'The contrary to this ought not to be supposed, but proved by incontestible matters of fact, which neither Rapin, or any other historian whom I have read, has yet done, And I will venture to say, that if there were such invisible presbyterians behind the curtain, who planned the subversion of the hierarchy, and blew it up as it were without hands, they must have been abler statesmen, and masters of much more worldly politics than have ever distinguished their posterity.

There were two bills which affected the prerogative now ready for the royal assent ; one to abolish the court of high commission, and regulate the privy counsel ; the other to take away the Star-chamber. To induce the King to pass them more readily, the commons sent up a money bill with them ; but when the King came to the house, he passed the money bill, and told the houses, he must take some time to consider of the others ; which disgusted the commons so much, that they returned to their house and immediately adjourned. At their next meeting they fell into new heats, of which his Majesty being informed, came to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons, reprimanded them for their jealousies, and then passed the bills ; he also put them in mind what he had done this session ; that he had yielded, that the judges should hold their places *quam diu se bene gesserint* ; that he had given away his right to ship-money ; granted a law for triennial parliaments, and for securing the money borrowed for disbanding the armies ; in a word, that he had hitherto given way to every thing, and therefore they should not wonder, if in some things he began now to refuse."

The act for abolishing the high commission court repeals that branch of the statute, 1st Eliz. cap. 1. upon which this court was founded. By the passing this act, all coercive power of church consistories was taken away and the spiritual sword that had done such terrible execu-

tion in the hands of some Bishops, was put into the scabbard. It was very extraordinary that the Bishops, who were then in the house of lords, should so supinely suffer themselves to be surprized out of their power. Some were ready to observe a hand of justice, says Fuller, that seeing many simple souls, by captious interrogatories, had been circumvented by the high commission court into a self accusation, an unexpected clause in this statute should abolish all their lawful authority; for there is no *proviso* in the act to restrain it only to the high commission, but it extends to all Archbishops, Bishops, and all ecclesiastical officers in any of their courts. Clarendon says that the King was apprehensive that the body of the bill exceeded the title, and therefore made a pause in consenting to pass it, and that some Bishops prevailed with his Majesty to sign it, to take off the odium from that bench, of their being enemies to all reformation; for it was insinuated, says this historian, that since they opposed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off root and branch. The act for taking away the star-chamber, and regulating the privy council, dissolves the said court, and repeals all those acts, or clauses of acts, of parliament, by which any jurisdiction, power, or authority, is given to the said court, or to any of the officers or ministers thereof. And it ordains further, that neither his Majesty, nor his privy council, have, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, or authority, by English bill, petition, articles, libel, or other arbitrary way, to examine or draw in question, determine, or dispose of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattels, of any of the subjects of this kingdom.

Thus fell the two chief engines of the late arbitrary proceedings in church and state, which had the liberties and estates of many worthy and pious families to answer for. But by the *proviso* in the act for abolishing the high commission, that no new court shall be erected with like powers for the future, it appears how odious their proceedings were in the eyes of the nation. When the King had signed the two bills, he desired the advice of his parliament, concerning a *manifesto* which he intended to send to the diet of Ratisbon in

favour of the Palatine family, wherein he declares that he will not abandon the interest of his sister and nephews, but will employ all his force and power in their behalf until they are restored. This was highly acceptable to the puritans, who had always the interests of that house at heart. The *manifesto* was read, when the commons declared their approbation of it, and resolved to give his Majesty such assistance therein, as shall stand with the honour of his Majesty, and the interests and affections of his kingdom, if the present treaty does not succeed. The peers concurred in the same vote, and both houses desired the King to recommend it to the parliament of Scotland; which his Majesty promised. Many warm speeches were made on this occasion in favour of the Queen of Bohemia, who was so sensible of their particular regards for her family, that she returned them her thanks, but the *manifesto* ended in nothing. ;

The commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the church, while the Bishops remained united in the house of peers, formed several schemes to divide them: it was first proposed to set large fines upon both houses of convocation for compiling the late canons, and a bill was brought in for that purpose; but upon better consideration it was thought more effectual for the present, to make examples of those Bishops only, who had been the principal movers in that affair; agreeably to this resolution a committee was appointed to draw up an impeachment against one half of the bench (viz.) Laud of Canterbury; Curle, of Winchester; Wright, of Coventry and Litchfield; Goodman, of Gloucester; Hall, of Exeter; Owen of St. Asaph; Pierse, of Bath and Well; Wren, of Ely; Roberts, of Bangor; Skinner, of Bristol; Warner, of Rochester; Towers, of Peterborough; and Owen, of Landaff. The impeachment was of high crimes and misdemeanors, "For making and publishing the late canons, contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject; and containing matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; and

for granting a benevolence or contribution to his majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law." It was carried up to the lords by Serjeant Wild, who demanded in the name of all the commons of England, that the Bishops might be forthwith put to answer the crimes and misdemeanors above-mentioned, in the presence of the house of commons; and that such further proceedings might be had against them as law and justice required. The commons were in hopes, that the Bishops would have quitted their votes in parliament to be discharged of their *præmunire*; but they resolved to abide by their right, and therefore only desired time to prepare their answer, and counsel for their assistance; accordingly they were allowed three months time to put in their answer, and counsel of their own nomination.

From this time the Bishops fell under general disregard; the cry of the populace was against them, as the chief impediments of all reformation in church and state; and even the temporal peers treated them with neglect, expressing their dislike at the Bishop of London's being stiled Right Honourable. Besides, the Lords spiritual were not distinctly mentioned in the bills that passed this session, according to ancient usage; the clerk of the parliament in reading the bills to the house, turned his back upon the bench of Bishops; and when the houses went in a body to church on a fast day, the temporal barons gave themselves precedence of the Bishops. These were the preludes to their downfall, which happened about six months forward, though from this time they were little better than cyphers in the house.

These resolute proceedings against the Bishops, put the court upon forming new projects to break up the parliament. It was observed that the strength and courage of the house of commons rose from their confederacy with the Scots, whose army in the north was entirely in their interest; it was therefore resolved in council, to detach that nation, if possible from the parliament, and to bring them over to the King, by yielding every thing

they should desire; for this purpose his Majesty declared his resolution to the two houses, to visit his native country in person within fourteen days, and desired them to finish the bills which were before them by that time. The commons being aware of the design, and apprehensive of danger, if the King should put himself at the head of the English army in the north, sent away the Earl of Holland immediately with money to pay them off, which was done without mutiny or disturbance; but the business of the houses being very urgent, and the time short, they voted that in this case of great necessity, concerning the peace of the Kingdom, they would sit the next day, being Sunday, by six o'clock in the morning; which they did, and having heard a sermon, returned to the house about nine, and sat all day long. But lest this might be misconstrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they published the following declaration.—“Whereas both houses of parliament found it fit to sit in parliament upon the eighth of August, being Lord's day, for many urgent occasions, being straitened in time, by his Majesty's resolutions to go within a day or two to Scotland, they think fit to declare, that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity; the peace and safety of both church and state being so deeply concerned, which they do hereby declare, to this end, that neither any other inferior court or council, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement, in neglecting the due observation of the Lord's day,”—The same voted passed the house of lords unanimously, and was ordered to be printed.

August 10, his Majesty came to the house, and gave his assent to the bill concerning knighthood; against the oppression of the stannary courts; for regulating the clerks of markets; and for confirming and ratifying the pacification with the Scots.—This last bill was followed by an act of oblivion, with exception to the Scots prelates, and four others. His Majesty was resolved to contradict the Scots in nothing, that he might break the confederacy between the two nations; for Lord Saville had now informed him of the correspondence of some of the English nobility with the Scots, which encouraged them to raise an army and march to the borders; he had shown him a

copy of the letter, with the forged names of Essex, Bedford, Mandeville, and others, exciting them to assert the liberties of their church and nation, and promising all the assistance they could with safety to themselves. His Majesty therefore resolved to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to prosecute the inviters, and recover his prerogative in England, which he knew he could accomplish by the assistance of the Irish, if the English puritans were left to themselves. The parliament were aware of the design, and therefore appointed one lord and two commoners to follow his Majesty to Scotland, in order to keep up a good correspondence with the parliament of that nation, and to exhort them, since they had gained their own liberties by the assistance of the English parliament, not to desert them till the English also had recovered theirs.

The King set out post, August 11, and arrived at Edinburgh in three or four days; the parliament met August 19, when his Majesty acquainted them, that the end of his coming into his native country, was to quiet the distractions of the kingdom, and this I mind, says his Majesty, fully and cheerfully to perform, for I assure you, I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people a general satisfaction; wherefore not offering to endear myself to you in words, which is not my way, I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns religion and the just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act." Accordingly his Majesty allowed of their late proceeding in opposing the English liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties; he confirmed the acts of their assembly at Glasgow, which declared, that, "The government of the church by Archbishops and Bishops was contrary to the word of God, and was therefore abolished." Mr. Henderson waited on the King as his chaplain, and was appointed to provide preachers for him while he was in that country, his Majesty having declared, that he would conform to their manner of worship while he was among them. His Majesty conferred titles of honour upon many of their gentry; and all parties were so well pleased, that it was said, when his

Majesty left the kingdom, that he departed a contented King from a contented people.

No sooner was the King returned but the English Bishops reproached his Majesty with his concessions, especially for admitting the English hierarchy to be contrary to the word of God. They told him, he had unravelled that web which his father and himself had been weaving in that country for above forty years, and instead of making the Scots his friends, he had only created a new thirst in the English parliament to follow their example. These remonstrances had such an influence upon the unhappy King, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. Saunderson, when he was in the Isle of Wight, that two errors did much afflict him, his consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death, and his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God should ever restore him to the peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and a voluntary penance (I think says the Dr.) by going bare-foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, and desiring the people to intercede with God for him. This shews how much superstition still remained in his majesty's make and constitution, when he could imagine, the going bare-foot through the streets could atone for his mistakes; and how little dependence was to be had upon his promises and declarations; that even in 1648, when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to consent to an uniformity of presbyterian government in both nations, he could declare in private to his chaplain, that if he was ever restored to his throne, he would do public penance for abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. Upon the whole, the King's journey into his native country did him no service; for though the Scots were pleased with his Majesty's concessions, they durst not depend upon them as long as he was under the direction of the Queen and the English Bishops, and they continued to think themselves obliged from gratitude, affection and interest, to cultivate a good understanding with the English parliament, and to assist them in recovering their religion and liberties.

Upon the day of thanksgiving for the pacification between the two nations, Bishop Williams, without any di-

from his superiors, composed a form of prayer for the service of the day, with which the house of commons were offended, and resolved that the said form of prayer be not read in the liberties of Westminster, or elsewhere." Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall preached before the commons and read the following order, appointed by both houses to be published in all the churches throughout England, with his Majesty's consent.—"Whereas according to the act of this present parliament, for confirmation of the treaty of pacification, it was desired by the commissioners of Scotland, that the loyalty and faithfulness of his Majesty's subjects of Scotland might be made known at the time of thanksgiving, in all places, and particularly in all parish churches of his Majesty's dominions; which request was graciously condescended to by his Majesty, and confirmed by the said act. It is now ordered and commanded by both houses of parliament, that the same be effectually done in all parish churches throughout this kingdom, at the time of the public thanksgiving, by the respective ministers of each parish or the curates, who are hereby required to read this present order in the church. The order being read, the minister declared, that notwithstanding all that had past in the late commotions, the Scots nation were still his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects. Thus as the calling and continuance of an English parliament, after twelve years interval, was owing to the marching of the Scots army into the north of England, it was by the powerful support and assistance of that parliament, and the expence of a million of money, that the Scots obtained the present pacification, with the full recovery of their kirk discipline and civil liberties.

In the midst of this ferment of the spirits of men, the workings of opposite councils, and the taking the sword out of the hands of the spiritual courts, it is not to be wondered at that the state of religion was unsettled, and that men began to practise with some latitude in points of ceremony and public worship. It has been observed, that in the beginning of the year, the house of commons had ordered commissions to be sent into all the counties of England, for removing the late innovations. It was further

ordered,—That neither university should do reverence to the communion-table, and that the church-wardens of the several parishes shall forthwith remove the communion-table from the east end of the churches where they stand alterwise, and take away the rails and level the chancels, as before the late innovations.”—Upon complaint of the want of sermons, and that the incumbents in many places would not admit preachers into their pulpits, though the parish maintained them. It was ordered,—That the inhabitants should have free liberty to have a sermon preached in their cathedrals every Sunday in the afternoon.—That in all parochial churches where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if the parishioners will not maintain a conformable lecture at their own charge, the parson or vicar shall give way to it, unless he will preach himself.—That it will be lawful for the parishioners of any parish to set up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord’s day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day every week where there is no weekly lecture. But notwithstanding these votes, some Bishops inhibited preaching on Sundays in the afternoon; and in particular Montague, Bishop of Norwich; upon which the commons voted,—That his lordship’s inhibition of Mr. Carter to preach in his own parish church, was void; and that every minister may preach in his own parish church as often as he pleases.

Many petitions being sent from divers counties for preaching ministers, a committee of forty members of the house, called the “Committee for preaching Ministers,” was appointed to send ministers where there were vacaneies, and to provide for their maintenance. These gentlemen recommended many of the late silenced ministers: whom some of the vicars refused to admit into their pulpits, or at least dissuaded their parishioners from hearing them, upon which some of them were required to attend the committee; and because great complaints were made to the house, of the idleness and viciousness of the country clergy, another committee was appointed to examine into such complaints, and was called the “Committee for Scandalous Ministers.”

The day before the recess of the parliament, it was re-

solved by the commons,—“That the Lord’s day should be duly observed; that all dancing, or other sports either before or after divine service, be forborne and restrained and that the preaching of God’s word be promoted in the afternoon. It was ordered further, that all crucifixes, pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity; and all images of the virgin Mary shall be abolished; and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basins, be removed from the communion-table: that all corporal reverences at the name of JESUS, or towards the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion-table, be forborne.—These orders were to be observed in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels in the two Universities, by the respective officers and ministers of these places, and by the readers and benchers of the inns of court.

The house of lords consented to some of these resolutions, but not to all; they agreed in their committee, “That no rails should be placed about the communion-table, where there were none already, but not to the pulling down of all that were set up; that all chancels raised within fifteen years past should be levelled; that images of the Trinity should be abolished without limitation of time; and all images of the virgin Mary erected within twenty years past.—But as for bowing at the name of JESUS, they insisted that it should be left indifferent. So that when the question was put, to agree or not agree with the resolutions of the commons, it passed in the negative, eleven against nine. The commons therefore published their resolutions apart, and desired the people to wait patiently for the intended reformation, without any disturbance of the worship of God, and of the peace of the kingdom. Upon which the lords in a heat appointed their order to be reprinted,—“That divine service should be performed as it is appointed by act of parliament; and that all who disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law: and that all parsons, vicars, and curates, in their several parishes, do forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those that are established by the laws.” This was voted by twelve lords present, the other six entering their protest; after which both houses adjourned for six weeks. *Rapin*

observes, that there seemed no necessity for the lords to renew this order; and that it was done out of spleen and revenge, because the commons had made a declaration against innovations, and it was not doubted but the bishops were the chief authors of it.

Of the execution of these orders, Mr. Pym presented a fair report of the house at their first meeting after the recess. The committee of religion, says he, have sent down divers of your declarations into the country, and have found that in some places where there were good ministers they were retained, and in other places neglected. We cannot say there have been any great tumults, though the execution of the orders of the house has occasioned something tending that way. In some parishes they came to blows, and in others they would have done the like, if care had not been taken to prevent it. At St. Giles's, Cripplegate, the parishioners were almost at daggers drawing about the rails of the communion-table, which they would not suffer to be removed. The like opposition was made to the orders of the house at St. George, Southwark, St. Mary, Woolnoth, St. Botolph, Aldersgate, and a few other places; but in most places they were quiet." If the innovations complained of were according to law, neither lords or commons had authority to remove them, for in a time of public peace and tranquillity, a vote of parliament cannot suspend or set aside the laws; but if they were apparently contrary to law, I do not see why either house of parliament, or even the parishioners themselves, by a vote of their vestry, might not order them to be taken away.

The lords disapproved of the tumultuous attempt of private persons, and punished them severely. Complaint being made by the inhabitants of St. Saviour's, Southwark, of certain persons who had pulled down the rails of the communion-table, in an insolent and riotous manner, they were sent for into custody, and having been heard by their counsel at the bar of the house, the church-wardens of the parish were ordered to set up new rails, at the costs and charges of the offenders, in the manner they had stood for fifty years before, but not according to the model of the four or five last years. The rioters also were enjoined to

make a public confession of their fault in the body of the church on a sabbath day, when the congregation should be present, and to stand committed to the Fleet, during pleasure. Upon another complaint of the parishioners of St. Olave's, Southwark, against some who had made a tumult in their church, and used irreverent speeches during the administration of the sacrament; the delinquents were sent for into custody, and after hearing they were committed to the King's-Bench for six months, without bail or mainprize; and ordered to stand upon an high stool in Cheapside, and in Southwark, for two hours on a market day, and to acknowledge their fault publicly: they were also fined twenty pounds, and to find sureties for their good behaviour; but when they had been imprisoned about a month, upon their humble petition, and acknowledgment of their misdemeanors, they were released.

Lord Clarendon says, "That the pulpits were supplied with seditious; and schismatical preachers; that in order to poison the hearts of the King's subjects, care was taken to place such ministers and lecturers in the most populous towns and parishes, as abhorred the present government and temperature of the church and state; and then adds, "I am confident there was not from the beginning of this parliament, one orthodox or learned man recommended by them to any Church in England."—Strange! when scarce one was recommended who had not been educated in our own Universities, and subscribed all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England!

But his Majesty's language is more severe in his declaration. Under pretence of encouraging preaching, says the King, they have erected lectures in several parishes, and commended such lecturers as were men of no learning nor conscience, but furious promoters of the most dangerous innovations; many having taken no orders, yet were recommended by members of either house to parishes; and when mechanic persons have been brought before them for preaching in churches, and have confessed the same, they have been dismissed without punishment, and hardly with reprehension. All persons of learning, and eminency in preaching, and of sober and virtuous conversion, of great examples in their lives,

and even such as among these men had been of greatest estimation, and suffered somewhat for them, were discountenanced, and such men cherished, who boldly preached against the government of the church, against the book of common prayer, against our kingly lawful power, and against our person.—Further, a licence even to treason is admitted in pulpits, and persons ignorant in learning and understanding, turbulent and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, and uncomfortable in opinion to the laws of the land, are imposed upon parishes, to infect and poison the minds of our people. What character the parliament divines had for learning, for orthodoxy of doctrine, and sobriety of manners, will appear hereafter. The commons in their reply to his Majesty's declaration, denied the whole of this charge, and averred, that they were careful in their enquiries into the learning and morality of those whom they recommended; that they were not for encouraging faction and schism, but for preferring those who were for a parliamentary reformation in church and state. That they had shown their resentments against mobs and tumults, and against the preaching of laymen; for when they were informed that several laymen, had presumed to preach, they sent for them and reprimanded them by their speaker in these words; "The house has a great distaste of your proceedings; and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this house will take care you shall be severely punished."

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious preachers of these times; though it will appear hereafter, that the complaints of the royalists are very much exaggerated. It was certainly a great disadvantage to the parliament's cause, that they could not get a supply of learned and able preachers, the keys of admission into holy orders being at this time in the hands of the Bishops, who were very strict in their examination into the political principles of those they ordained; this reduced the committee to the necessity of admitting some few who came well recommended from New-England or Scotland, and had been only ordained by presbyters; and such young students who producing their testimonials from the uni-

versities, were allowed to preach for some time as candidates. They were under the like disadvantage as to presentations or inductions, most of them being in the hands of the King and the Bishops.

Laud continued to ordain clergymen of his own principles in the Tower; whereupon the house of lords ordered that his jurisdiction should be sequestered, and administered by his inferior officers, till he should be acquitted of the charge of high treason that was against him. His grace often admitted such clergymen to livings as were obnoxious to the two houses, insomuch that the lords found it necessary to enjoin him to acquaint their house with the names of such persons as he nominated to any ecclesiastical benefice, promotion or dignity within his disposal, to be approved of by the house, before they were collated or instituted. On the other hand, when a minister was chosen by the parishioners, and recommended to him for admission, if he did not like his principles and character, he would either except against him, or suffer the living to lapse to the crown. This created him new enemies, and kept alive the resentments of the commons. At length the Archbishop acquainted the King with his case, who sent him a peremptory letter, requiring him, that as often as any benefice, or other spiritual promotion, should become void within his gift, to dispose of it only to such persons as his Majesty should nominate; and that if either or both houses should command him otherwise, he should then let it fall in lapse to the crown. As soon as the houses were acquainted with this, they published an order of their own, requiring the Archbishop to dispose of no benefice or spiritual promotion that shall become void at any time before his trial, without the leave and order of the two houses at Westminster. Such was the struggle between the King and parliament for the pulpits! It being thought of great consequence on both sides, to fill them with men of their own principles, who would be zealous in the cause in which they were severally engaged.

All the Bishops were under a cloud, and in no degree of favour either with the parliament or people, except the Bishop of Lincoln, who having some years been in prison,

had no share in the late innovations. This prelate in the recess of parliament, visited his diocese; and exhorted the people in his sermons to keep to their lawful minister, and not go after tub preachers in conventicles. He acquainted them with the laws, and told them that no power could protect them from the penalty of statutes unrepealed. But his rhetoric had very little effect; nor did the parliament approve of his conduct, at a time when his Majesty was out of the kingdom, and when it was resolved to attempt some considerable alterations in the hierarchy. The distractions in the state were no less threatening than those of the church. The plague was in the city of London, which dispersed the members, so that they could hardly make a house. The disbanding the army infested the roads with highway-men, insomuch that it was hardly safe to travel from one town to another. The officers (many of whom were papists) crowded to London, and took lodgings about Covent-Garden and Whitehall, under pretence of receiving the remainder of their pay; these behaved with unusual insolence, and struck terror into the minds of the people. The mob was frequently up in one part of the town or another; one while they threatened the Pope's nuncio, and another while the Queen's mother, upon which they retired out of the kingdom; but the Queen herself stood by her friends: she had a convent of capuchins in her court, and protected great numbers of the King's subjects and others, from the sentence of the laws. The lord mayor was commanded to bring in a list of popish recusants about London; and all the papists in the several counties were ordered to be disarmed. This was the melancholy state of the nation, when on a sudden it was thunder-struck with the surprising news of one of the most barbarous massacres of the protestants in Ireland, that the records of any age or nation can produce.

Clarendon is of opinion, that the parliament instead of adjourning, should now have broken up and returned home, since the principal grievances of church and state had been redressed, and the constitution secured by the act for Triennial parliaments. But not to trouble the reader with affairs of state; what religious grievances

were actually redressed? except the shortening the power of the spiritual courts, by the acts for abolishing the court of High-commission and Star-chamber? not one of the late innovations were abolished by law; nor was there any alteration in the liturgy, or form of church government. The sole power of the Bishops in ordination and jurisdiction remained to be regulated; nor was there any reformation of deans and chapters; all which the puritans hoped for and expected. In short, the whole government of the church remained entire, notwithstanding the fierce attacks of the commons against it. The act for triennial parliaments will appear not to have been a sufficient security to the constitution, if we consider how many acts of parliament the King and his arbitrary ministers had broke through the late fifteen years; that his Majesty had still the same principles, and was like to be in the same hands upon the dissolution of this parliament. Besides, it was said that these laws had been extorted from him by force, and therefore were not binding; and if a parliament should be called after three years, that it was dissolvable at pleasure; so that in all probability things would have returned to the old channel if the parliament had now dissolved themselves. Supposing therefore, but not admitting, that the principal grievances of church and state had been redressed, I leave it with the reader, whether in the present situation of affairs, a mere redress of past grievances was sufficient without some security against the return of the like in time to come.

Among the remarkable divines who died about this time was Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, born in London, and educated a fellow-commoner in Queen's College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards master. He was a celebrated Calvinist, and one of those divines appointed by King James to represent the Church of England at the synod of Dort, where he behaved with great prudence and moderation; and upon his return to England was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury; but in the beginning of the reign of King Charles he became obnoxious to the court for venturing to preach on the doctrine of predestination, contrary to his Majesty's declaration, and was forced to make his submission before the privy council. He was a

quiet and peaceable prelate, humble and charitable, a strict observer of the sabbath, an enemy to the pomp and luxury of the clergy, and one who lamented the high proceedings of the court. He had a great reputation in foreign parts for profound learning, and an unblemished life; and after he had enjoyed his bishopric about twenty years, ended his days in peace and honour, a little before the beginning of the troubles that afterwards came upon the church and kingdom. He died of a consumption, and a few hours before his death prayed pathetically for a quarter of an hour; blessing God for his fatherly correction, and acknowledging his peculiar mercy in this last sickness.

Dr. Montague, Bishop of Norwich, died in April. He was a divine of a different character; he was born in Westminster, educated in Eaton-College, and afterwards fellow of King's College. Fuller says he was a celebrated Grecian, and church antiquary, well read in the fathers, but a superstitious admirer of church ceremonies. He was a thorough Arminian, a creature of Laud's, and an ill instrument between the King and parliament in the late times, and therefore voted unfit for any church preferment; but when the King resolved to govern without parliaments, his Majesty preferred him first to the bishopric of Chichester, and then to Norwich, where he shewed his zeal for the church, by a vigorous and illegal prosecution of the Puritans. He was accused by the present parliament, for superstitious innovations; and would no doubt, have felt their resentments, if he had not gone, as Mr. Fuller expresses it, a more compendious way, to answer for all his proceedings in the high court of heaven.

Mr. Eaton, M. A. and vicar of Wickham-Market, was born in Kent, and of a peculiar mould (says Eachard) very paradoxical in his opinions, and reckoned a great Antinomian, and one of the founders of that sect, for which he more than once suffered imprisonment. His chief performance was a book entitled, "The honeycomb of free justification by Christ alone;" for which he was imprisoned in the Gate-house at Westminster. Mr. Eachard admits, that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience and

piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and strangely valued for many years after his death. In truth, though he committed some mistakes in his assertions about the doctrines of grace, he was nevertheless a pattern of faith, holiness, and chearfulness in his sufferings, to succeeding generations. He died in the sixty seventh year of his age.

CHAP. VIII.



CHARLES I.

Irish Massacre.—Authors of it.—Proceedings of Parliament.—The King's imprudent Conduct.—Remonstrance of the House of Commons.—Petitions presented with the Remonstrance.—The King's answer.—Issue of the Impeachment of the Thirteen Bishops.—Tumults about the Parliament-house.—The Bishops insulted on their way to the House.—They are Impeached.—The King goes to the House of Commons to seize Five of the Members.—He leaves Whitehall.—A Bill passed to take away the Votes of the Bishops in Parliament.—Remarks.

BEFORE his Majesty left Scotland, advice came to London of a general insurrection of the papists in Ireland, and of a most bloody massacre of the protestants of that kingdom. The project of an insurrection was formed in the months of March and April 1641, not without the privity of the English court, and executed October twenty-third following; no information of it having been given to the protestants till the very night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the effects of it in the country, and almost to save the city of Dublin itself. When the express that brought the news was read in the house, it produced a general silence for a time, all men being struck with horror. When it was told without doors it flew like flashes of lightning, and spread universal terror over the whole kingdom. Every day, and almost every hour, produced new messengers of misery, who brought further intelligence of the merciless cruelty

of the papists towards the protestants, whose very name they threatened to extirpate out of the kingdom.

On the day appointed, between twenty and thirty thousand of the native Irish appeared in arms in the northern counties, and having secured the principal gentlemen, and seized their effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thousands to fly from their houses and settlements, naked into the bogs and woods, where they perished with hunger and cold. No ties of friendship, neighbourhood or consanguinity, were capable of softening their obdurate hearts, in a cause which they called **THE CAUSE OF LOYALTY AND RELIGION**. Some they whipped to death; others they stript naked and exposed to shame, and then drove them like herds of swine to perish in the mountains; many hundreds were drowned in rivers; and some had their throats cut. With some, the execrable villains made themselves sport, trying who could hack deepest into an Englishman's flesh. Husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; wives and young virgins abused in the sight of their nearest relations; nay they taught their children to strip and kill the children of the English, and dash out their brains against the stones. Forty or fifty thousand were massacred after this manner in a few days, without distinction of age, sex or quality, before they suspected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence. In a few weeks the insurrection was so general, that they took possession of whole counties, murdering the inhabitants; plundering their houses, and killing or driving away their cattle. Multitudes of poor distressed creatures and families fled naked and half starved first to Dublin, and from thence to England, with death and despair in their countenances. At length the Irish army having ravaged all the northern counties, blocked up the city of Dublin itself, with all the poor distressed protestants who had taken sanctuary in it; but not being masters of the sea, the city was relieved, and part of the country secured, till the parliament was at leisure to power out all their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

The frequent expresses which pressed one after another to England, with the multitudes of distressed creatures that got passage into several parts of the kingdom, filled the hearts of all true protestants with infinite conjectures, and prodigious imaginations of treasonable designs against this as well as the neighbouring kingdom. They were afraid, and not without reason, that a second part of this tragedy might be acted on themselves; the parliament therefore ordered themselves a guard of train-bands, and entered immediately into measures to secure the nation from the impending storm.

But before we dismiss the Irish insurrection and massacre, it will not be improper to trace it from it's original, and enquire into the authors, and the several parties concerned in it. The Earl of Antrim and Sir P. O'Neal, who were at the head of the Irish catholics, having acquainted the Pope's nuncio, and some of the priests about the Queen, how easily they could assume the government of Ireland, and assist the King against the English Puritans, letters were wrote in the Queen's name, and perhaps in the King's authorising them to take up arms and seize the government. The Irish received the orders with pleasure; and concluded further among themselves, that it was necessary at the same time to extirpate the protestants out of that kingdom before they could with safety transport their army into England. That this was their design, appears from their renonstrance published upon the very day of the insurrection, in which they say,—That having some liberty of religion granted them by the King, they perceived the parliament was wresting his Majesty's prerogative from him, in order to extinguish their religion; therefore to support his Majesty's prerogative, and to confirm his royal and ever happy love to them, they had taken up arms; and accordingly bound themselves to one another by an oath.

They called themselves the Queen's Army, and published a proclamation from their camp at Newry, declaring that they acted by the King's commission, under the great seal of Scotland, dated at Edinburgh, October first, and by letters under his sign manual, of the same date with the commission; which I believe was a forgery; though it is

a little unaccountable, that his Majesty should never by any public act or declaration of his own, clear himself of so vile a calumny. However, though the King gave out no commission, there is too much reason to believe, that the Queen and her popish council, and even the King himself, was not unacquainted with the design of an insurrection before it took place; and that her Majesty gave it all the countenance she could with safety; but when these bloody butchers over acted their part to such a degree, as to massacre near two hundred thousand protestants in cold blood, to make way for their tyranny, it was time for all parties to disown them.

Burnet observes, that in the first design of an insurrection there was no thought of a massacre: this came into their heads as they were contriving methods of executing it; and as the people were governed by the priests, these were the men that set on the Irish to all the blood and cruelty that followed. There was a consultation at the abbey of Multifernan in the county of West Meath, where, it was debated, what course should be taken with the protestants; some were for expelling them, as the King of Spain did the Moors; others pressed to have them universally cut off; but not coming to a conclusion, they left the army to act at discretion. How far the Pope's nuncio and the Queen's council might be consulted about the massacre, is a secret; if we distinguish between the insurrection, in order to assume the government into the hands of the Irish papists, and the massacre which attended it, we may conclude without any breach of charity, that the English court admitted of the former, though they might wash their hands of the latter.

The parliament in their declaration say, that the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived in England, and that they had taken several depositions, proving that the English papists were to rise about the same time; that the rebels said they acted by the King's authority; that they called themselves the Queen's army, and declared, that their purpose was to come to England after they had **DONE** in Ireland, to recover the royal prerogative, wrested from him by the Puritan faction in the house of

commons. Mr. Pym declared in parliament, that several disbanded officers and soldiers of the King's army went over to Ireland; and listed among the rebels by the King's express warrant, which his Majesty denied; but when the matter was examined, it appeared that his authority had been abused by some who were *very near his person*. The concern of the court in this dark affair is further evident, from the relation of the Earl of Essex, who told Bishop Burnet, "That he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the Irish massacre, but could not see reason to believe the King was accessory to it; but he did believe the Queen did hearken to the propositions made by the Irish, who undertook to take the government of Ireland into their hands, which they thought they could easily perform, and then they promised to assist the King against the hot spirits at Westminster. With this the insurrection began, and all the Irish believed the Queen encouraged it.

There was a farther discovery of this fact at the restoration of Charles the Second, when the Marquis of Antrim who had been at the head of the rebellion, and whose estate had been confiscated, finding himself likely to be excluded the act of indemnity, came to London to petition his Majesty to examine the warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a committee of council was appointed, and the Marquis produced some letters from the King, which did not amount to a *full* proof; but in one of them the King says, that he was not then at leisure, but referred himself to the Queen's letter, and said, that was all one as if he writ himself. Upon this foundation the Marquis produced a series of his own letters to the Queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of these particulars that were laid to his charge, and shewed the grounds he went upon, and desired her Majesty's direction to every one of these, and he had answers ordering him to do as he did. This affair, says Burnet, the Queen herself, who was then at court, espoused with great zeal, and said, she was bound to save him. So a report was drawn up by the committee, declaring that he had fully justified himself in every thing; but the Earl of Northumberland, who was chairman, refused to set his hand to it, saying, "He was sorry the

Marquis had produced such warrants ; but he did not think that they out to serve his turn, for he did not believe that any warrant from the King or Queen could justify so much bloodshed, in so many black instances as were laid against him." Upon the Earl's refusing to sign the report, the rest of the committee declined it, and there it dropt ; whereupon the King himself wrote over to the Duke of Ormond, that he had so vindicated himself, that he must get him included in the act of indemnity ; but Lord Mazarine and others not being satisfied to give their vote in favour of such a criminal, notwithstanding the instructions they had received from England, the Marquis was obliged in his own defence to produce in the house of commons a letter from Charles the First, writ with HIS OWN HAND, giving him express orders to take up arms ; upon which he was pardoned, and his estate restored.

I have been more particular in accounting for this insurrection, because whoever were the authors of it, are in the judgment of Clarendon, answerable for all the calamities of the civil war. It was Ireland, says his lordship, that drew the first blood. If they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befel the King and his dominions, had been prevented. At whose door then the guilt of all this blood must be laid, I freely leave with the reader.

Upon the first news of the Irish massacre, the commons turned themselves into a committee of the whole house, and came to the following resolutions,—“That all Roman catholics of quality in the several counties of England be secured, and that all papists depart from London to their respective places of abode in the country ; that the house of lords be desired to join with the commons in a petition for dissolving the convent of Capuchins, and sending them out of the kingdom ; that the foreign ambassadors be desired to deliver up such priests of the King's subjects as are in their houses ; that a list be brought in of the Queen's servants ; and that a proclamation be issued out for all strangers that are not protestants, to give an account of their names

and places of abode, or depart the kingdom.”—They also dispatched a messenger to the King, beseeching him to concur with them in securing the nation against any further attempts of the papists; and not to employ any in his councils who were favourers of popery. They voted two hundred thousand pounds to be borrowed for the service of Ireland, and appointed the train-bands of Westminster to guard them from the insolence of vagrant soldiers about the court, and to secure them from other designs which they had reason to suspect. The lords ordered all Romish recusants to remove out of the inns of court and chancery. The commons ordered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to all Irish gentlement within those courts;—for it now appears, says Mr. Pym, that the religion of the papists is incompatible with any other religion, it is destructive to all others, and will endure nothing that opposes it. There are other religions that are not right, but not so destructive as popery, for the principles of popery are subversive of all states and persons that oppose it.

When the King returned from Scotland, and had been received with the acclamations of the citizens of London, he was prevailed with by the Queen and her faction to check the proceedings of the two houses, since the Scots were easy, and the hearts of the English nation seemed to be with him; his Majesty had recommended the suppressing the Irish rebellion to the Scots representatives, and by letter had committed the care of it also to the English parliament; whereupon the house of commons, in the King's absence, authorized the Earl of Leicester, by an ordinance of their own, to raise forces, and the Lord high admiral to provide shipping for their transportation from Chester, and other ports; but when the King came to Whitehall, he seemed so unwilling to act against the papists, that the parliament were afraid of sending protestant soldiers out of the kingdom, lest his Majesty should take advantage of their absence, and break up the constitution; for he had already commanded away the parliament's guard, telling them they had nothing to fear from the papists, and that their jealousies of plots and

massacres were imaginary. He pardoned seven popish priests who were under sentence of condemnation, contrary to the petition of the commons. He turned out the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir W. Parsons, one of the most active protestant justices in that kingdom. He intercepted the parliamentary supplies in their way to Chester, and received a deputation from the Irish catholics with greater ceremony and respect, than from his protestant subjects. Nor could his Majesty be prevailed with to issue out a proclamation declaring the Irish, **REBELS**, till the beginning of January, and even then only forty copies were printed, and not one to be dispersed till further order. Indeed the King proclaimed a monthly fast, and offered to raise an army of English for the relief of Ireland, which the commons declined; and instead thereof appointed a committee to treat for ten thousand Scots, which the house of lords, by direction from the King, put a stop to; so that between both, the relief of Ireland was neglected. The King would have persuaded the parliament to send over ten thousand English, that they might find it more difficult to raise forces in case of a breach with him; but the commons prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thousand of their nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themselves naked and defenceless in so critical a juncture.

Upon the whole it seems that this barbarous insurrection and massacre was formed either here or in Ireland, to distress the parliament, after the failure of the design of doing it by the English army. The King seems to have been willingly ignorant of the progress of the affair, having intrusted the correspondence with his Queen and her council; but when he heard how the Irish had overacted their part he was surprized, and thought it necessary to declare against them; yet when he came to his Queen he appeared too favourable to their persons and conduct, and instead of going briskly into the measures that were proposed to subdue them, his Majesty played the politician, and would have made use of the Irish rebellion to put himself at the head of an army to break up his English parliament.

While the King was in Scotland, it was given out, that

since his Majesty had yielded so much to the Scots, he might be persuaded to introduce presbytery into England at his return; upon which his Majesty sent a letter to the clerk of the council, commanding him to assure all his servants, that he would be constant to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England established by Queen Elizabeth and his father; and that he resolved by the grace of God, to die in the maintenance of it.—Accordingly his Majesty resolved to fill up the vacant sees; but the two houses joining in a petition to his Majesty to suspend his commands till he came home, the matter was delayed; however soon after his return, he proceeded to the execution of his purpose, and the vacant sees were occupied by divines, most of whom stood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting bishoprics in this crisis did neither the King nor themselves any service.

A committee had been appointed above a twelvemonth ago, to draw out of all the grievances of the nation such a remonstrance as might be a faithful and lively representation to his Majesty, of the deplorable state of the kingdom; but it was laid aside till this time, when the prospect of an agreement between him and his parliament being almost at an end, after the breaking out of the Irish insurrection and massacre, it was perfected and read in the house, when it met with so strong an opposition, that it was carried only by nine voices, after a long debate from three in the afternoon till three in the morning. Many were of opinion, that those grievances which had been redressed by the late acts of parliament ought to have been covered, lest the reviving them should make the breach wider between the King and parliament; while others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with respect, and that it was in a manner necessary in order to introduce the intended limitation of the royal power. However this was the crisis that discovered the strength of the two parties, and was managed with such warmth, that Oliver Cromwell is said to tell Lord Falkland, that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had next morning, and never have seen England more.

The remonstrance was presented to the King at

Hampton-Court, about a week after his Majesty's return from Scotland, with a petition for redress of grievances therein contained. It is easy to suppose it was not very acceptable, but the King gave the committee his hand to kiss, and took time to return an answer. The remonstrance enumerates the several grievances, oppressions, and unbounded acts of the prerogative, since his Majesty's accession, to the number of almost one hundred, and charges their rise and progress,—1. On the jesuited papists. 2. On the court, bishops, and the corrupt part of the clergy. 3. On such corrupt counsellors and courtiers as for private ends had engaged in the interest of some foreign princes, to the prejudice of the King and state. These ministers are said to carry on their designs,—1. By suppressing the power and purity of religion, and of such persons as were best affected to it. 2. By cherishing the arminian party in those points wherein they agree with the papists, in order to widen the difference between the common protestants and those called puritans; and by introducing such opinions and ceremonies as tend to an accommodation with popery. 3. By fomenting differences between the King and his parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal methods of raising supplies.

In the petition that attended the remonstrance, after having assured his Majesty, that they had not the least intention to lay any blemish upon his royal person by the foregoing declaration, but only to represent how his royal authority and trust had been abused, they humbly beseech his Majesty to concur with his people in a parliamentary way,—1. For the depriving the Bishops of their votes in parliament, and abridging their immoderate power, usurped over the clergy, and other good subjects, to the hazard of religion, and prejudice of the just liberties of the people. 2. For the taking away such oppressions in religion, church government and discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them. 3. For uniting all such loyal subjects, as agree in fundamentals, against papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been offended, and seem to be divided from the rest. 4. They conclude, with beseeching his Majesty to remove from his counsels,

all favourers of popery and arbitrary power, and promoters of the above-mentioned pressures and corruptions, and to employ such as his parliament might confide in; and that in his princely goodness he would reject all solicitations to the contrary, how powerful, and near soever.

His Majesty in his answer to this petition, complains very justly of the disrepect of the commons in printing their remonstrance before he had time to return an answer. To the preamble and conclusion of the petition, he says that he knows of no wicked, arbitrary, and malignant party prevalent in the government, or near himself and his children; and assures them, that the mediation of the nearest to him has always concurred in such persons, against whom there can be no just cause of exception.

Some time after his Majesty published his answer to the remonstrance, and a declaration to his subjects; and agreeably to this declaration he issued a proclamation, requiring obedience to the laws and statutes ordained for the establishing true religion in this kingdom, and commanding that divine service be performed as heretofore; and that all officers and ministers ecclesiastical and temporal do put the said laws in due execution against all wilful contemners and disturbers of divine worship, contrary to the said laws and statutes.

Thus matters stood between the King and parliament, when all men expected the court interest in the house of peers would be broken, by the issue of the impeachment of the thirteen Bishops, for compiling the late canons, which was now approaching. The lords had resolved that such Bishops as were impeached, should not sit in the house when the merits of their cause was in debate, but that when the manner of proceeding was to be settled, they might be present but not vote. To enable them the better to make their defence, it was resolved further that the Bishop of Rochester with one other Bishop, might have access twice to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower, to consult with him about their answer to the impeachment and that all the lord bishops may have access to any acts and records, that may serve for their defence. On the tenth of November, the bishops put in their answer, consisting of a plea and demurrer, in which they neither

confess nor deny the fact, but endeavour to shew that the offence of making canons could not amount to a *premunire*; which was certainly true, provided they had been made a legal convocation, and that the canons themselves had not been contrary to the King's prerogative and the fundamental laws of the land. The answer was signed with all their hands except the Bishop of Gloucester's, who pleaded not guilty *modo et forma*.

The commons were dissatisfied with the Bishops, for not pleading directly to their charge; and with the lords, for receiving a demurrer when they were not present, contrary to the request which they sent up with the impeachment, especially when the nature of the case, being a mere matter of fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the lords by Serjeant Glyn, to set aside the demurrer, and to admit them to make proof of their charge without any further delay; or if they were satisfied with the charge, and the Bishops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to judgment; but the lords, instead of complying with the commons, gave the Bishops their option, and ordered them to declare by Saturday, whether they would plead to the impeachment or abide by their demurrer, when they declared they would abide by their demurrer; upon which the lords appointed Monday following to hear their counsel in presence of the commons; but the house resenting this dilatory method of proceeding in a case which they allege was so apparent and manifest to the whole world, would not appear; the most active members declaring among their friends with a sort of despair; that they would be concerned no further against the Bishops, for they now saw it was in vain to attack a number of men, whom the court and the house of lords were resolved to protect.

When this was rumoured in the city, it alarmed the people, whose fears were already sufficiently awakened with the apprehensions of a popish massacre and insurrection within their own walls. The aldermen and common-council immediately assembled, and drew up a petition to support the courage of the commons, and went with it to Westminster in sixty coaches, attended by a great number of the lower people. The petition prays,—That the

house of commons would still be a means to the King and house of peers, to concur with them (the commons) in redressing the grievances of church and state, and for the better effecting hereof, that the popish lords and Bishops may be removed out of the house of peers. —The speaker returned them thanks in the name of the house, and promised to take their address into consideration in due time. A few days after, great numbers of people assembled at Black-heath, to sign a petition to the same purpose; and within a fortnight the apprentices of London went up with a petition signed with a multitude of names, complaining of the decay of trades occasioned by papists and prelates, and by a malignant party that adhered to them; and praying that the popish lords and other eminent persons of that religion might be secured, and that prelacy might be rooted out according to their former petition commonly called the **ROOT AND BRANCH**. The commons received their petition favourably; but the King instead of calming the citizens, increased their jealousies and suspicions; by removing at this very time Sir W. Belfour from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and putting Colonel Lunsford into his place, a suspected papist of no fortune, who had been once out-lawed and was fit for any desperate attempt. This unseasonable promotion occasioned petitions to his Majesty for his removal, which with much difficulty after some time was obtained, but the jealousies of the people still remained.

The carrying up these petitions to Westminster, and especially that of the London apprentices, occasioned great tumults about the parliament house. The King was at his palace at Whitehall, attended by great numbers of disbanded officers, whom his Majesty received with great ceremony, and employed as a guard to his royal person. These officers insulted the common people, and gave them ill language as they passed by the court to the parliament house, crying out *no Bishops, no popish lords*. If the people ventured to reply, the officers followed their reproaches with blows, Baxter says, they came out of Whitehall, and caught some of them, and cut off their ears, From these skirmishes,

and from the shortness of the apprentices' hair, which was cut close about their ears, the two parties began first to be distinguished by the names of **ROUNDHEAD**, and **CAVALIER**. David Hyde one of the reformades, first drew his sword in Palace-yard, and swore he would cut the throats of those round-headed dogs that bailed against the Bishops. Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, lately promoted to the see of York, going by land to the house of peers in company with the Earl of Dover, and hearing a youth cry out louder than the rest, *no Bishops, no popish lords*, stepped from the earl and laid hands on him, but his companions rescued him, and about one hundred of them surrounding the Bishop hemmed him in, and with an universal shout cried out *no Bishops*; after which they opened a passage and let his grace go forward to the house. The same day Colonel Lunsford coming through Westminster-Hall in company with thirty or forty officers, drew his sword and wounded about twenty apprentices and citizens: others walking in the Abbey while their friends were waiting for an answer to their petition, were ordered by the vergers to clear the church, lest the ornaments of the cathedral should suffer damage; upon which most of them went out, and the doors were shut, but some few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the Bishop, which occasioned another skirmish, in which Sir R. Wiseman was killed by a stone from the battlements; after which the officers and scholars sallied out upon the mob sword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The news of this being reported in the city, the whole populace was in arms, and resolved to go next morning to Westminster with swords and staves. The lord mayor and sheriffs raised the train-bands, and having ordered the city gates to be kept shut, they rode about all night to keep the peace; but it was impossible to hinder the people's going out in the day. On the other hand, the King commanded the militia of Westminster and Middlesex to be raised by turns, as a guard to his royal person and family; upon which several gentlemen of the inns of court offered their service, in case his Majesty apprehended any danger.

The house of commons being no less afraid of themselves, petitioned for a guard out of the city of London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, which his Majesty refused, but told them, he would take as much care of them as of his own children; and if this would not suffice, he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be answerable to God for; but the house not being willing to trust to the King's guard, declined his Majesty's offer, and not prevailing for one of their own choosing, they ordered halberds to be brought into the house, and resolved in case of an assault, to defend themselves.

The lords exerted themselves to disperse the tumults, by sending their gentlemen usher of the black rod to command the people to depart to their homes; and by appointing a committee to enquire into the causes of them. His Majesty also published a proclamation, forbidding all tumultuous assemblies of the people. But the commons being unwilling to affront the citizens, were not so vigorous in suppressing them, as it was thought the circumstances of things required; for as the King relied upon his guard of officers, the commons had their dependance upon the good-will of the citizens. Not that the house can be charged with encouraging tumults, for the very next day after the King's proclamation they sent a message to the lords, declaring their readiness to concur in all lawful methods to appease them; but being sensible their chief strength was among the inhabitants of London, without whose countenance and support every thing must have been given back into the hands of the court, they were tender of entering upon vigorous measures.

While these tumults continued, the Bishops were advised to forbear their attendance upon the house, at least till after the recess at christmas; but this looking too much like cowardice, their lordships determined to do their duty; and because the streets were crouded with unruly people, they agreed to go by water in their barges; but as soon as they came near the shore, the mob saluted them with a volley of stones, so that being afraid to land they rowed back and returned to their

own houses. Upon this repulse, twelve of them met privately at the Archbishop of Yorks lodgings. in Westminster, to consult what measures were to be taken. The Archbishop advised to go no more to the house, and immediately in a heat drew up a protestation addressed to the King, against whatsoever the two houses should do in their absence, which all present signed with their hands except the Bishop of Winchester.

This protestation was presented to the King by Archbishop Williams, who undertook to justify the lawfulness of it but his Majesty declining to appear in so nice an affair, delivered into the hands of the lord keeper Littleton, who by his Majesty's command, read it in the house of lords the next morning. After some debates the lords desired a conference with the commons, when the keeper in the name of the house of peers declared, that the protestation of the Bishops contained matters of high and dangerous consequence, extending to the intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of parliaments, and therefore the lords thought fit to communicate it to the commons. The protestation being communicated to the house of commons, they resolved within half an hour, to accuse the twelve Bishops of high treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and being of parliaments, and sent up their impeachment by Mr. Glyn, who having delivered it at the bar of the house of lords, the usher of the black rod was ordered to go immediately in search of the Bishops, and bring them to the house; the Bishops appearing the same evening were sequestered from parliament, ten of them being sent to the Tower, the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, by reason of their great age, and the service they had done the church of God, by their writings and preaching, being committed to the custody of the black rod, with an allowance of five pounds a day for their expences.

The adversaries of the Bishops in both houses were extremely pleased with their unadvised conduct; one said, it was "The finger of God," to bring that to pass which otherwise could not have been compassed. There was but one gentleman in the whole debate that spoke in their behalf, and said, "He did not believe they were guilty of

high treason, but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam." Their behaviour gave such scandal and offence, even to those who passionately desired to preserve their function, that they had no compassion or regard for their persons. Rapin is of opinion, that the King hoped this affair might occasion the dissolution of the parliament. But if he did his Majesty was much mistaken, for the Bishops and popish lords being now absent, the majority of the house of peers was against the court; which vexed the Queen and her faction, and put them upon such an extravagant piece of revenge, as effectually broke the peace of the kingdom, and rendered the King's affairs irretrievable.

His Majesty having been assured that Lord Kimbolton, and five of the most active members in the house of commons, viz. D. Hollis, Sir A. Haslerigge, J. Pym, J. Hambden, and W. Stroud, Esqrs, had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of those tumults that had kept the Bishops and popish lords from the house; that they had aspersed his government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his royal power; in a word that they were conspiring to levy war against him, resolved to impeach them of high treason. Accordingly his Majesty sent his attorney-general to the house with the articles, and at the same time dispatched officers to their houses to seal up their trunks, papers, and doors; but the members not being ordered into custody, as his Majesty expected, the King went himself to the house next day in the afternoon, to seize them, attended with about two hundred officers and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols; the gentlemen of the inns of court who had offered their service to defend the King's person, having had notice to be ready at an hour's warning. The King having entered the house went directly to the speaker's chair, and looking about him, said with a frown, "I perceive the birds are fled, but I will have them wheresoever I can find them, for as long as these persons are here, this house will never be in the right way that I heartily wish it; I expect therefore, that as soon as they come to the house you send them to me." Having then assured the members, that he designed no force upon them, nor breach of

privilege, after a little time he withdrew; but as his Majesty was going out, many members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, *privilege! privilege!* The house was in a terrible panic while the King was in the chair, the door of the house with all the avenues being crowded with officers and soldiers; as soon therefore as his Majesty was gone they adjourned till next day, and then for a week. It was happy that the five members had notice of the King's coming, just time enough to withdraw into the city, otherwise it might have occasioned the effusion of blood, for without doubt the armed soldiers at the door only waited for the word to carry them away by force. Next day his Majesty went into the city, and demanded them of the lord mayor and court of aldermen, then assembled by his order at Guildhall, professing at the same time his resolution to prosecute all who opposed the laws, whether papists or separatists, and to defend the true protestant religion which his father professed. But though his Majesty was nobly entertained by the sheriffs, he now perceived, that this rash and unadvised action had lost him the hearts of the citizens, there being no acclamations or huzzas, as usual, only here and there a voice, as he went along in the coach, crying out *privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!* However he persisted in his resolution, and published a proclamation, commanding all magistrates, and officers of justice, to apprehend the accused members and carry them to the Tower.—Eachard with great probability lays this unparalleled act of violence upon the Queen and her cabal of papists; and adds, that when the King expressed his distrust of the affair, her Majesty broke out into a violent passion, and said, "Go coward and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more!" which it seems determined the whole matter.

The citizens of London were so far from delivering up the five member, that they petitioned the King that they might be at liberty, and proceeded against according to the methods of parliament. At the same time they acquainted his Majesty with their apprehensions of the ruin of trade, and of the danger of the protestant religion, by

reason of the progress of the rebellion in Ireland, and the number of papists and other disbanded officers about the court. His Majesty finding he had lost the city, fortified Whitehall with men and ammunition, and sent canoneers into the Tower to defend it, if there should be occasion. When the citizens complained of this, his Majesty replied, that it was done with an eye to their safety and advantage; that his fortifying Whitehall was not before it was necessary, and that if any citizens had been wounded it was undoubtedly for their evil and corrupt demeanor. But they had no confidence in the King's protection. A thousand mariners and sailors offered to guard the five members to Westminster by water upon the day of their adjournment, and the train-bands offered the committee at Guildhall to do the same by land, which was accepted. Things being come to this extremity, his Majesty to avoid the hazard of an affront from the populace, took the fatal resolution of leaving Whitehall, and accordingly the day before the parliament was to meet, he removed with his Queen and the whole royal family to Hampton-court, and two days after to Windsor, from whence he travelled by easy stages to York; never returning to London till he was brought thither as a criminal to execution.

By the King's deserting his capital in this manner, and not returning when the ferment was over, he left the strength and riches of the kingdom in the hands of his parliament; for next day the five members were conducted by water in triumph to Westminster, the train-bands of the city marching at the same time by land, who after they had received the thanks of the house were dismissed; and Serjeant Skippon with a company of the city militia, was appointed to guard the parliament house; from this day, says Clarendon, we may reasonably date the levying war in England, whatsoever has been since done being but the superstructures upon these foundations. It must be confessed that two days after the King sent a message to the house, waving his proceedings with respect to the five members, and promising to be as careful of their privileges as of his life or crown; and a little after offered a general pardon; but the commons had too much reason at this time not to depend upon his royal promise; they

insisted that the accused members should be brought to their trial in a legal and parliamentary way; in order to which they desired his Majesty to inform them, what proof there was against them; it being the undoubted right and privilege of parliament, that no member can be proceeded against without the consent of the house; which his Majesty refusing to comply with, removed further off to Windsor, and entered upon measures very inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom.

To return to the Bishops; about a fortnight after their commitment they pleaded to the impeachment of the house of commons, "Not guilty in manner and form," and petitioned the lords for a speedy trial, which was put off from time to time, till the whole bench of Bishops was voted out of the house, and then entirely dropt; for the very next day after their commitment, the commons desired the lords to resume the consideration of the bill that had been sent up some months ago, for taking away all temporal jurisdiction from those in holy orders, which the lords promised; it had passed the commons without any difficulty about the time of the Irish insurrection, and was laid aside in the house of lords, as being thought impossible to pass while the Bishops' votes were entire; when it was revived at this juncture, the Earl of Bedford and the Bishop of Rochester made a vigorous stand against it. But the question being put, whether the bill should be read, it passed in the affirmative; and after some few debates, the bill was carried by a very great majority, the citizens of London expressing their satisfaction by ringing of bells and bonfires. But it was still apprehended that the King would refuse his assent, because when he had been pressed to it he had said, it was a matter of great concernment, and therefore he would take time to consider; however the commons not content with this delay, sent again to Windsor, to press his compliance; and their message was seconded by those of greatest trust about the King. But no arguments would have prevailed, had not the Queen made use of her sovereign influence over the King. Her Majesty was made to believe that her own preservation depended upon the King's consent to the bill; that if his Majesty refused it, her journey into Hol-

land would be stopt, and her person possibly endangered by some mutiny or insurrection; whereas the using her interest with the King would lay a popular obligation upon the kingdom, and make her acceptable to the parliament. These arguments carrying a face of probability, her Majesty wrested the King's resolution from him, so that the bill was signed by commission, together with another, against pressing soldiers, his Majesty being then at Canterbury, accompanying the Queen in her passage to Holland. But his Majesty's signing them with so much reluctance did him a disservice. All men took notice of his discontent; and Lord Clarendon says, he has cause to believe that the King as prevailed with to sign them, because he was told that there being violence and force used to obtain them, they were therefore in themselves null, and in quieter times might easily be revoked and disannulled. A dangerous doctrine as it may tend to overthrow the most established laws of a country!

Thus the peerage of the Bishops and the whole secular power of the clergy, ceased for about twenty years; how far they contributed to it by their pride and ambition, their sovereign contempt of the laity, and indiscreet behaviour towards their protestant brethren, has been already observed. Their enemies said, the hand of God was against them, because they had given too much countenance to the ridiculing of true devotion and piety, under the name of godly puritanism;—because they had silenced great numbers of ministers eminent for learning and religion, for not complying with certain indifferent rites and ceremonies, while others who were vicious, and insufficient for their office were encouraged;—because they made a stricter enquiry after those who fasted and prayed, and joined together in religious exercises, than after those who were guilty of swearing, drunkenness, and other kinds of debauchery;—because they discouraged afternoon sermons and lectures, and encouraged sports and pastimes on the Lord's day;—because they had driven many hundred families out of the land;—and where upon the whole, enemies to the civil interests of their country. Others observed that most of them verged too much towards the see of Rome, and gave ground to suspect they were design-

ing an union between the two churches, which at a time when the Roman catholics in Ireland had embued their hands in the blood of almost two hundred thousand protestants, and were so numerous at home as to make large and public collections of money to support the King in his war against the Scots; was sufficient to make every sincere protestant jealous of their power. Besides the Bishops themselves had been guilty of many oppressions; they had in a manner laid aside the practice of preaching, that they might be the more at leisure for the governing part of their function; though even here they devolved the whole of their jurisdiction upon their chancellors and under officers. They did not sit in their consistories to hear complaints, or do justice either to clergy or laity, but turned over the people to registers, proctors, and apparitors, who drew their money from them against equity and law, and used them at discretion.

Few or none of them made their visitations in person, or lived in their episcopal cities; by which means there was no kind of hospitality or liberality to the poor. Divine service in their cathedrals was neglected or ill performed, for want of their presence and inspection. Instead of conferring orders at the mother church, they made use of the chapels and their private houses, without requiring the assistance of their deans and chapters, the pronounced the censures of deprivation and degradation in a monarchical and absolute manner; and upon the whole, they did little else but receive their rents, indulge their ease, consult their grandeur, and lord it over their brethren. These were the popular complaints against them, which made the citizens rejoice at their downfall, and attend the passing of the bill with bonfires and illuminations. However if all these things had not concurred in a nice and critical juncture of affairs, the attempts of the house of commons would have been in vain; neither the King nor peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their seats in parliament. This was one of the last bills the King passed; and the only law which he enacted in prejudice of the established church. Here his Majesty made a stand, and by a message sent to both houses, desired not to be

pressed to any one single act further, till the whole affair of church government and the liturgy was so digested and settled, that he might see clearly what was fit to remain, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

END OF VOL. I.

